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VOLUME X

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**THE BIBLE; ITS ORIGIN AND NATURE**
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**BIBLE AND SPADE**
John P. Peters, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D.

*BROSS PRIZE VOLUMES*

**THE PROBLEM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT**
James Orr, D.D.

**THE MYTHICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS.** Rev. Thomas James Thorburn, D.D.

*THE BROSS LECTURES . . 1921*

# BIBLE AND SPADE

LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE
LAKE FOREST COLLEGE
ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE LATE
WILLIAM BROSS

BY

REV. JOHN P. PETERS, PH.D., SC.D., D.D.
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## THE BROSS FOUNDATION

THE Bross Lectures are an outgrowth of a fund established in 1879 by the late William Bross, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois from 1866 to 1870. Desiring some memorial of his son, Nathaniel Bross, who died in 1856, Mr. Bross entered into an agreement with the "Trustees of Lake Forest University," whereby there was finally transferred to them the sum of forty thousand dollars, the income of which was to accumulate in perpetuity for successive periods of ten years, the accumulations of one decade to be spent in the following decade, for the purpose of stimulating the best books or treatises "on the connection, relation, and mutual bearing of any practical science, the history of our race, or the facts in any department of knowledge, with and upon the Christian Religion." The object of the donor was to "call out the best efforts of the highest talent and the ripest scholarship of the world to illustrate from science, or from any department of knowledge, and to demonstrate the divine origin and the authority of the Christian Scriptures; and, further, to show how both science and revelation coincide and prove the existence, the providence, or any or all of the attributes of the only living and true God, 'infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.'"

The gift contemplated in the original agreement of 1879 was finally consummated in 1890. The first decade of the accumulation of interest having closed in 1900, the Trustees of the Bross Fund began at this time to carry out the provisions of the deed of gift. It was determined to give the general title of "The Bross Library" to the series of books purchased and published with the proceeds of the Bross Fund. In accordance with the express wish of the donor, that the "Evidences of Christianity" of his "very dear friend and teacher, Mark Hopkins, D.D.," be purchased and "ever numbered and known as No. 1 of the series," the Trustees secured the copyright of this work, which has been republished in a presentation edition as Volume I of the Bross Library.

The trust agreement prescribed two methods by which the production of books and treatises of the nature contemplated by the donor was to be stimulated:

1. The Trustees were empowered to offer one or more prizes during each decade, the competition for which was to be thrown open to "the scientific men, the Christian philosophers and historians of all nations." In accordance with this provision, a prize of $6,000 was offered in 1902 for the best book fulfilling the conditions of the deed of gift, the competing manuscripts to be presented on or before June 1, 1905. The prize was awarded to the Reverend James Orr, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow, for his treatise on "The Problem of the Old Testament," which was published in 1906 as Volume III of the Bross

Library. The second decennial prize of $6,000 was awarded in 1915 to the Reverend Thomas James Thorburn, D.D., LL.D., Hastings, England, for his book entitled "The Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels," which has been published as Volume VII of the Bross Library. The announcement of the conditions may be obtained from the President of Lake Forest College.

2. The Trustees were also empowered to "select and designate any particular scientific man or Christian philosopher and the subject on which he shall write," and to "agree with him as to the sum he shall receive for the book or treatise to be written." Under this provision the Trustees have, from time to time, invited eminent scholars to deliver courses of lectures before Lake Forest College, such courses to be subsequently published as volumes in the Bross Library. The first course of lectures, on "Obligatory Morality," was delivered in May, 1903, by the Reverend Francis Landey Patton, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton Theological Seminary. The copyright of the lectures is now the property of the Trustees of the Bross Fund. The second course of lectures, on "The Bible: Its Origin and Nature," was delivered in May, 1904, by the Reverend Marcus Dods, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in New College, Edinburgh. These lectures were published in 1905 as Volume II of the Bross Library. The third course of lectures, on "The Bible of Nature," was delivered in September and October, 1907, by Mr. J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen. These

lectures were published in 1908 as Volume IV of the Bross Library. The fourth course of lectures, on "The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine," was delivered in November and December, 1908, by Frederick Jones Bliss, Ph.D., of Beirut, Syria. These lectures are published as Volume V of the Bross Library. The fifth course of lectures, on "The Sources of Religious Insight," was delivered November 13 to 19, 1911, by Professor Josiah Royce, Ph.D., of Harvard University. These lectures are embodied in the sixth volume. Volume VII, "The Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels," by the Reverend Thomas James Thorburn, D.D., was published in 1915. The seventh course of lectures, on "The Will to Freedom," was delivered in May, 1915, by the Reverend John Neville Figgis, D.D., LL.D., of the House of the Resurrection, Mirfield, England, and published as Volume VIII of the series. In 1916, Professor Henry Wilkes Wright, of Lake Forest College, delivered the next course of lectures on "Faith Justified by Progress." These lectures are embodied in Volume IX. The present volume is comprised of the lectures delivered April 4 to 9, 1921, by the Reverend John P. Peters, Ph.D., of Sewanee, Tennessee.

HERBERT McCOMB MOORE,
*President of Lake Forest University.*

LAKE FOREST, ILLINOIS,
November, 1921.

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# I

## THE ANCESTRY OF THE HEBREWS

EVERY one is familiar, I suppose, with the story of Franklin and the book of Ruth. Intellectual Paris had cast aside the Bible; to read it or to quote it marked a man an ignoramus. On the other hand the intellectuals had gone mad over the ancient writings of all other races and religions than the Christians and their Hebrew forebears. It was the fashion to praise and bewonder the beauty, the spirituality, the profundity of such writings, and happy he who could discover some new treasure from the Orient. Franklin belonged to a clique or club at the height of this fashion, where each member in turn came prepared to point out or to discuss some new bit of wit or wisdom he felt himself to have discovered in an ancient writing, or, if very fortunate, to present and interpret some hitherto unheard-of newly found record, saying, verse, or even perchance book or treatise from the East, but none mentioned or made intelligent allusion to the Bible. Came Franklin's turn, he engaged an actress to learn and recite the book of Ruth, and took her with him to the meeting, explaining that having found an ancient Oriental idyl, which he thought to be unknown in Paris, or certainly known but to very few, he had brought a translation of the same to lay before them,

and to do full justice to its singular beauty had engaged this lady, well known to all, to learn and recite it.

All were moved by the pathos, the naïveté, the engaging charm, and the spirituality of the idyl, which they wondered they had never met nor heard of before; and when they had abundantly expressed themselves to that effect, Franklin informed them that it was from the despised Bible, well known to all Christian ignoramuses, in which book, if they would look, they would find much more and better.

This revolt against the Bible was due to its abuse by men who professed belief in its inspiration. They had made that belief a bar to progress by treating the Bible as a repository of all knowledge, a revelation of all truth, infallible in each jot and tittle. But so, they had locked up the book itself, made it a mystery and confined its interpretation to initiates only, putting anathema on its free handling. No wonder the French emancipators counted it a relic of barbarism and superstition, and cast it into limbo, as blind to its surpassing beauty as new-made upstarts to the grace and glory of true art.

Within the memory of us older men a complete change has taken place in the theory and practice of history and the evaluation of historical documents. Partly this is due to the application of the doctrine of evolution to history, as to every other field of human knowledge. Partly it is due to increase of knowledge in all fields. This made the children unwilling to accept without question the conclusions and the traditions of the fathers. They must for themselves exam-

ine all things in the light of their knowledge. The first result was the upsetting of much supposed to be established, the rejection of an immense amount of tradition, and the development of an enormous scepticism in reference to everything old. The early history of Rome, Greece, and Israel was but a mass of religious myths and fables, or national and tribal legends. The ancient literature was relatively modern, or at least had been so worked over and changed by later hands that it could not for historical purposes be counted ancient. This scepticism manifested itself especially in the study of Hebrew and early Christian literature as contained in the Bible for the same reason which moved emancipated Frenchmen of Franklin's time to cast the Bible into limbo. Every tradition of date or authority of Bible books came under suspicion. The Pauline authorship of almost all of the Epistles was denied, the Gospel tradition of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John rejected, and most of the books of the New Testament assigned to the second century after Christ. Similarly in the Old Testament practically every book was resolved into a great variety of documents, and as a whole almost all of them were assigned to dates below the Exile, and onward into the second pre-Christian century, and it was impossible to reconstruct from them reliable ancient history. This affected seriously foundation facts as well as documents. The Decalogue postdated Moses by centuries, and then Moses vanished altogether; others proved that Jesus was not born at Bethlehem, and some showed him in fact a

mythical figure. And remember that in general these scholars were not "enemies of the Bible," as certain of their theological opponents designated them, but earnest and devout students of the Scriptures. Their attitude was a reaction against that theological tradition of interpretation which seemed to them, not only antiquated, but also pernicious and untruthful.

When I began to study ancient history, ancient meant a period about 500 B. C. Practically there was nothing known beyond that date. Earlier stories, as in Livy and Virgil, Homer and the Old Testament, contained no history which could be called such. Within my memory the situation has changed profoundly. Partly archæologists and antiquarians have unearthed and discovered objects and writings of all possible ages, which have furnished the material to test, correct, and supplement the literature that has come down to us. This has carried back our knowledge of the history of civilization almost as many thousand years before Christ as before we reckoned hundreds. In the same period there has developed that entire discipline of comparative science (comparative linguistics, religion, folk-lore, games, and everything else), a result of the rapid enlargement of our information and our outlook, which has enabled us to evaluate and utilize for historical purposes much previously known literary material, like Homer and the book of Genesis. There has set in also the natural reaction against the extreme attitude of iconoclasm and rebellion resulting from the children's discovery that all the fathers had handed down was not true. The chil-

dren having grown older are feeling differently about the knowledge and the traditions of the fathers, and in Bible study there is, at the present moment, a strong current, almost threatening to become a flood, toward the rehabilitation of older views. So in the New Testament within the last few years leading critical scholars have reaffirmed the older views of date and authorship of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles almost unchanged; and in the Old Testament critical views of composition, authorship, and date of books and documents, which had come to be accepted by most modern scholars as final, are being rudely questioned. This does not mean that the old traditional views of the contents of the documents recorded in them are altogether correct. It means that we have been finding, not only that those Bible documents are of the greatest value as historical records, but that the traditions incrusting them have an historical importance which had been overlooked. By means of the Bible, studied with its traditions, plus the spade, we are now restoring the very ancient history in a rather wonderful way.

We shall not, however, get the best results until we stop talking or thinking about *defending* the Bible, and devote ourselves wholly and unreservedly and without any *arrière pensée*, in Bible study as all other study, to the search after truth for truth's sake. I am not concerned in these lectures to support the Bible record by the results of archæological research, I am concerned to find points where the written documents of the Bible and archæological discoveries throw

light one upon the other, either giving us two witnesses to a fact, or the one explaining the other.

Genesis is a perfect treasure-house of ancient lore of the Hebrew forebears, and of the land of Canaan, and is the most important document in existence for the ancient history of hither Asia. But before we consider its contents let us examine its outward form. The verse division, which is old and of Hebrew origin, and the chapter division, which is Christian and mediæval, are convenient for purposes of reference, but they often obscure the sense. The theological readers of the Bible, who have tended to make Genesis part of a great dictionary of texts, and the critical scholars, who have tended to make it an anatomical laboratory, both alike disregarding its literary form and structure, have failed to observe how it was put together by its Hebrew editor, or to regard its character and purpose as he puts them before us.

Genesis consists of two parts or volumes, corresponding in character to the parts in the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phœnician histories of those countries as they have come down to us through the Greeks. The first part of those histories deals with the mythical beginnings, in which gods and demigods play the leading rôle. Ages are enormous, reckoned by hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands, and it took untold æons to disengage man and man's earth from their entanglement with deity and deity's abode. The second part of each of these histories is human, a sane and sober story of dynasties of men, their achievements, and the development and growth of peoples.

In Genesis the first volume, the first eleven chapters, deals with the time when God, having created the world, walked and talked with men, and they with Him; deity and man intermarried; man struggled with and even endangered the position of God; and as mythical and semidivine heroes the span of men's lives was enormous. This first part of the volume of Genesis is divided into seven sections (Hebrew chapters) by the recurring phrase: *These are the generations*, or *This is the book of generations*, only the first chapter being without this heading, because in the nature of things it does not require it. This (1:1–2:3) is the chapter of creation: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."

The second chapter begins: "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth" (Gen. 2:4–4). This is often spoken of as a duplicate of the account of creation contained in chapter 1. It does in fact overlap and duplicate that account to a small extent, and it is clearly derived from a different source, but it is not the chapter of creation, but the chapter of the preparation. The earth and the heavens having been created, earth is prepared for the dwelling-place of man, and a garden of delight set at the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, for there man had his origin. All beasts are formed and made subject to man, for he knows and gives them their names, but with none of these can he mate; so out of his very bones and flesh is a helpmeet made for him, and theirs is all in the garden. But with sex comes sin. They lose Eden, and then begins for the human race a life of toil and

child-bearing, of strife and envy and murder, out of which came the knowledge of proper city building, metallurgy, poetry, and music.

The third chapter (5 : 1–6 : 8) is headed: "The book of the generations of Adam," *i. e.*, the human race; a list of names of prehistoric ancestors who reigned for æons, and with whose daughters the gods cohabited, producing strange beings and provoking God at last to blot out that evil generation, preserving the one just man, Noah, the last of the primal heroes. The fourth chapter (6 : 9–9 : 28), entitled "The Generations of Noah," tells the story of the flood which destroyed the old Adam brood, of a rebirth, as it were, of the human race in the mountains of Armenia, at or near the place of Adam's origin, of the establishment of religion, with proper sacrifice, and of husbandry.

With the fifth chapter (10 : 1–11 : 9) we come to the "Generations of the Sons of Noah," Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the repeopling of the earth by this new human race, and the division of men into peoples, races, and languages. It is a review of the nations and peoples in the Hebrew horizon, not primarily ethnological. Japheth is the Medes to the east, and the Scythian hordes to the northeast, and certain people of central, northern and western Asia Minor and of the northern coasts and islands of the Ægean and Mediterranean, to a considerable extent but by no means entirely Indo-European. These are the peoples of the north. Ham is in no sense an ethnological group. It comprises Ethiopia, Egypt, and northern Africa, Arabia, Sumerian Babylonia, and the Canaanites,

including all the non-Aramæan peoples in Palestine, among them Phœnicians and Amorites who were Semitic, Hittites who were Indo-European, and Philistines. These are the peoples of the South. Between the Hebrew and all these Canaanites there was bitterness and a curse. The eldest son, whose home is naturally in the centre, Armenia, southern Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, is Shem, the father of the Hebrews, of the Assyrians, and above all of the Aramæans.[1] It is this stock to which Israel belongs, and in the history of which the author of Genesis is concerned, and so the sixth chapter, Gen. 11 : 10–26, is "The Generations of Shem," a race genealogy. But among the Semites it is the Aramæan stock which our author desires to follow, because to that division of the Semites Israel belongs. So the concluding chapter of the first volume of Genesis (11 : 27–32) is headed "The Generations of Terah."

Notice that these chapters number in all seven, the mystical number of the days of creation with which the volume began. The author has drawn his material from various sources, some earlier, some later, but he has so selected and combined it as to form a continuous narrative cunningly contrived to expound and to fix in the mind his grand theory of God's plan for Israel.

The second volume, from Gen. 12 onward, is arranged in the same way, each section or chapter headed, as before: "The Generations of ——," except that, as

[1] The curious inclusion of Elam in this group, if the text be correct, may be political, a reflection of the relations existing between Elam and Babylonia.

in the first volume, the first chapter (12 : 1–25 : 12) requires and has no heading. In this volume, however, the manner is different. We are on terra firma, dealing with familiar territory, with a wealth of human tradition and folk-lore to draw from. This chapter tells, under the name of Abram or Abraham the great hero of Hebron, the story of the coming into Canaan of the Israelites, an Aramæan clan from Mesopotamia, whose great shrine of Sin, the moon-god, at Haran is parented from the shrine of Sin at Ur in southern Babylonia, Sinai thus being brought into connection with both. Into this is woven some later history, as of the descent into Egypt, and the deliverance from the Egyptians by God's intervention,[1] and of the struggles with the Philistines.[2] It reflects also the relations of Palestine with Babylonia in the pre-Egyptian period.[3] This chapter also sets forth the fact that the neighboring nations, Moab and Ammon,[4] are of the same Hebrew-Aramæan stock, children of Haran, but earlier settled and separated from that stock. The second chapter of this volume (25 : 12–18) is entitled: "These are the Generations of Ishmæl," and informs us that the nomadic or seminomadic tribes to the south and southeast of Palestine, stretching from the Egyptian border into northern Arabia, were of the same Aramæan stock as Israel, and that with them Israel has a later connection, and therefore a closer kinship, than it had with Moab and Ammon. Like Israel, they have the twelvefold tribal division. They are, however,

[1] Gen. 12 : 10–20.
[2] Gen. 20.
[3] Gen. 14.
[4] Gen. 13.

older by birth, *i. e.*, in longer possession of their land than Israel. But this line leads nowhither, hence the brevity of this chapter, and we turn back in the third chapter (25 : 19–35 : 29), "The Generations of Isaac," to follow the legitimate line of Israel's ancestry through the younger son. Still, however, we are in close touch with the region of the Ishmaelite, for Isaac was the legendary hero of Beersheba, and until late in Israel's history Beersheba was a great pilgrimage sanctuary, especially of the simon-pure Israelites of the northern kingdom, and the Fear of Isaac was a common name for the deity. In the story of the wife that is brought for Isaac from Haran, than which there is no more beautiful specimen of the raconteur's art in all literature, is set forth the continued close relation of Israel, in contrast to the neighboring peoples, with the great Aramæan centre in Mesopotamia and the continued influx of migrant tribes from that region. Isaac's chapter is not, however, of such varied interest from the historical standpoint as Abraham's. It pictures more the conditions of the *negeb*, or south country, the digging and fighting for water in the desert borderland. Like Abraham's chapter, this also weaves into the more ancient traditions and legends reflections of later conditions, and especially of the struggle for the possession of the land between Hebrews and Philistines.[1]

The fourth chapter (36), "The Generations of Esau," is, like the second, a false lead, as it were; it goes nowhither. Edom was Israel's elder brother.

[1] Gen. 26 : 1–33.

He became a settled state adopting the Canaanite civilization (Canaanite marriages), while Israel, the younger brother, was still a nomad. Esau's state lay in that southern region which Israel always claimed as his home and the home of his God, Horeb and Sinai; and part of this Edomite civilization also was Amalek. Here the author found historical records as well as folk-lore at hand, and is able to give us lists of kings and chiefs. Indeed he had two documents for Edom before him,[1] and has given us duplicate generations of Esau (36:9–14 and 36:15–19), precisely as you find duplicates in the heraldic visitations of English counties, which, as you cannot harmonize, you juxtapose. But as this line leads nowhither for his purpose, having established and noted the peculiarly close relation of Israel with Edom, our author goes back to the story of Israel's descent as younger son, called by the grace of God to hazard and adventure, and so to greater achievement and better possession. It is almost as though one were reading the story of American ancestors in the records of English parishes and counties, the younger son moving from a south Devon village to a north Devon town, and his younger son from there to Bristol, and still another younger son from there to America, economic pressure, the spirit of adventure, and religious motives combining to carry them ever onward toward a mighty goal. With the fifth chapter we turn back to the younger son, Jacob, whom God

[1] Verse 20 is the natural sequence of verse 8. The two genealogies, duplicates of one another, occur in a second inserted "Generations of Esau" (vv. 9–19). The whole Esau section is curiously composite.

selects above the elder son, Esau. This chapter (37 : 2–50 : 25) is entitled: "The Generations of Jacob," although in point of fact it tells little of Jacob. His story has practically been told under Isaac. Its incidents are connected especially with central Israel, Shechem, and Bethel, where were the well and the pillar of Jacob. He is, however, also connected with Beersheba, his father's home, as his descendants, the people Israel, were connected with the ancient and ancestral shrine of Beersheba. The continuance of Aramæan immigration and the purity from Canaanite admixture of the central stock is affirmed in the story of Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia, and his return with his Aramæan wives. On the other hand, the adoption of Canaanite units into the tribes of Israel is affirmed in the story of the four tribes who were children of concubines. Jacob himself is identified with Israel, and they are affirmed to be one and the same. With the stories of the older Jacob are mingled, as in the case of Abraham and Isaac, later historical reminiscences.[1] This is true, also, in the story of Joseph,

[1] This is a familiar phenomenon of folk-lore, and of primitive or folk history. Many years ago I became interested in the Wends of the Spreewald, a Slav enclave in German territory, retaining its own ancient language and much of its ancient customs and costumes. Their folk-lore, as I learned it, was largely that of their German neighbors as represented by *Grimm's Fairy Tales*, but Frederick the Great and his hussar general, Ziethen, moved and acted among the mythical and legendary events and characters of that folk-lore, often playing the part played by the fairies, heroes, or supernatural beings of Grimm's tales. Similarly in one version of the *Nibelungen Lied* we have Burgundian history and Burgundian historical characters of the fourteenth century A. D. mixed in with the events and characters

which constitutes the greater part of the chapter entitled "The Generations of Jacob." Like Jacob, he also was connected with Shechem, where his *tomb* is honored to this day. "The Generations of Jacob" are in fact the chapter on the twelve patriarchs, the legendary history of the twelve tribes of Israel of which Joseph's story was the chiefest. Jacob and the twelve

of the old prehistoric Teutonic epic. Similarly, also, in the most complete form of the Babylonian Gilgamesh poem which has come down to us, through the late copy in Ashurbanipal's library, events of the history of the city of Erech toward the close of the third millennium B. C. are combined with much more archaic myths and legends. It follows from the above, also, that the fact that myths and legends are told as part of the story of an individual is not of itself a proof that no such individual existed, or that his whole story is a myth or a legend. The failure to recognize this has resulted in some very curious misinterpretations of history. The most delightful case in my own experience was that of the great King Sargon of Akkad, who towers so mightily in old Babylonian story that he came to be encircled with a number of myths and legends. He was the son of divinity by a mortal and was exposed in an ark on the Euphrates. Through the merciful protection of the gods he was saved by an humble gardener, who took him as his son; and more of the same type. In 1890 a learned German scholar, Winckler, wrote a book proving him on this basis never to have existed, and himself, his mighty empire, and his great achievements to be a mere mirage of myth and legend. Just at that time I was digging up at Nippur records and inscriptions of Sargon's very own self, proving incontrovertibly his existence, and substantiating the essential truth of his myth-embroidered story. In interpreting ancient Hebrew story and tradition we must be careful not to make a similar blunder. Because Moses was exposed in an ark, or because in Abraham's story are commingled events separated by centuries, it does not follow that such men never existed or that the essentials of their stories are untrue. Myth and legend are often merely a proof of the phenomenal greatness of the person about whom they are told; and myth and legend sometimes grow and develop with remarkable rapidity, within very much less than a lifetime.

patriarchs could not, however, be given separate chapters, because that would have interfered with the scheme of chapter arrangement. The second volume must contain five chapters, so that, added to the first volume, the whole book might consist of twelve chapters, the number of the twelve tribes. The first volume commences with creation, and the number of its chapters is the mystic number of days of creation; the second volume adds five, to give the complete number of Israel, and ends with the story of the twelve tribes, God's completed work.

I have treated the scheme of Genesis somewhat at length, because I wished to use it as a means to show how recent research has established the truthfulness of the old Hebrew traditions contained in this twelve-chaptered book of Genesis. There was a time when these traditions were treated as literal history, as was the Roman story of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. There followed a period of reaction, when, as history, these stories were brushed aside, and we began to build up the early story of hither Asia on other lines. A half-century ago some one, I do not now know surely who first propounded the theory, derived all the Semites from Arabia. Out of Arabia, as from a seething caldron, boiling over at intervals, forcing up the lid, and pouring out its excess of population in successive eruptions, came first, in the fourth millennium B. C., a flood of Semitic peoples in two streams, divided by the desert, occupying Babylonia on the east and northern Syria on the west. A thousand years later came another wave of invasion, which occupied

Canaan on the west, and on the east strengthened and modified the Semitic stock already in Babylonia. Another thousand years later, about 1500 B. C., came another wave of invasion, the Aramæan, occupying Palestine, east and west of the Jordan, pushing northward into Syria, homing in Mesopotamia, and drifting into Babylonia. About a thousand years later came the Nabatæans, followed by the Lakhmids and the Ghassanids, on the east and west of the desert respectively. After approximately another millennium, in the seventh century of our era, came the great Mohammedan eruption of Arabs, which carried the farthest and spread the widest of all. It is a beautifully symmetrical scheme, a perfect specimen of natural law functioning without interference, and it won universal acceptance. It passed beyond the stage of a working hypothesis, and came to be treated as a fundamental truth on which we might safely build, as on a rock, and we all proceeded to do so.

Now observe that this theory of the ancestry of the Hebrews and their kin, the north Semitic peoples, quite disregards and entirely contradicts the traditions and the records of Genesis. No one even thought of taking that into account. But even linguistics should have shown us the inherent improbability of this theory. The south Semitic languages—Arabic, Ethiopic, Minæan and Sabæan—on the one hand, and the north Semitic—Babylonian-Assyrian, Aramæan, and Canaanite-Hebrew—on the other, constitute two distinct groups. The peoples speaking the languages of these two groups could not have come out of one caldron in successive eruptions as depicted. The two

groups as groups must have separated at some early time, and then each group developed by itself independently, so that each group came finally to contain subgroups and species of its own. How much time that required, how the original division took place, and what was the habitat of the original Semitic stock before the division into the two great groups of north and south Semitic took place, we do not surely know.

So far, however, as movements of the north Semitic peoples are concerned the testimony of the monuments flatly and at almost all points contradicts the theory we had evolved. As a result of excavations in Babylonia, Assyria, Palestine, and Egypt we are now able to present a pretty fair view of the history of racial movements in that part of hither Asia south of the centre of Asia Minor and north of the centre of Arabia, from the Persian mountains westward to the edge of the Ægean Sea, and including also Egypt, from somewhere in the fourth millennium B. C. onward. Before that time a Semitic immigration into, or invasion of, Egypt, from what side or source we do not surely know, had brought into being the mixed race which we know as Egyptian. At that time southern, and perhaps also central, Arabia may have been inhabited by the Semitic peoples whom we know later as Minæans, Sabæans, etc., who early developed a high civilization in Yemen, and out of whom sprang Arabs and Ethiopians, the south Semitic group of which we have spoken. But our information about those regions is relatively late, and what their condition and stage of civilization was at the close of the fourth millennium we do not know. At that period there

were no northern Semites below Syria on the west and northern Babylonia on the east. Babylonia, when we first learn anything about it from the inscriptions found at Nippur and Lagash, was inhabited by a non-Semitic people, whom we call Sumerians, after the name of their land, Sumer, the biblical Shinar. They were already at that time a civilized people, with a well-developed script, having its original picture-writing far behind it. In general the people of the Euphrates and Tigris valley stood on the same plane of civilization as the Egyptians of the Nile valley, each civilization, however, having developed independently of the other. The home of this civilization seems to have been from somewhere in the archipelago at the head of the Persian Gulf, then 100 miles or more farther north than at present, to Nippur, 100 miles south of Baghdad. Apparently their towns and cities reached northward as far as Kalah Sherghat, ancient Ashur, on the Tigris, where their remains seem to have been found beneath those of the Semitic Assyrians by the German excavators. This civilization also extended eastward into Elam, the Karun valley in modern Persia; but linguistically Babylonians and Elamites differed. When our written records begin, toward the close of the fourth millennium, there were Semitic cities in northern Babylonia, and up the Euphrates into northern Syria. The inhabitants of the latter region were known as Amorites,[1] the people of the west

[1] The name Amorite is here used roughly of all the western Semites before the advent on the scene of the Aramæans. It is well attested for the period about 2500 B. C., it is not so cer-

land, but the Semites in northern Babylonia were also of the same stock, as we know from the names found in the inscriptions. The inscriptions show the Semitic states of northern Babylonia gradually growing stronger in the third millennium and pressing down more and more on the Sumerian cities of the south. About 2500 they acquire a dominant position, apparent evidence that the Semitic element in Babylonia was strongly reinforced and dominated at, or somewhat before, that time by immigration or invasion from the north or northwest. By the close of this millennium we find the whole of Babylonia constituting a Semitic empire under Babylon as its capital with, northward of this, the strong Semitic state of Assyria, while a homogeneous Semitic Babylonian culture and civilization extends all over hither Asia south of the Taurus mountains, and even beyond the Taurus into Cappadocia of Asia Minor. Manifestly the Semites have been pressing down from the north, not up from the south.

Excavations in Palestine, especially at Gezer and Jerusalem, have revealed conditions confirmatory of this view of the direction of the Semitic movement, derived from Hebrew tradition and Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. Before 2500 B. C. Palestine was inhabited by a non-Semitic population, rude trog-

tain that it can properly be used as the designation of the west Semites before that date. Similarly it is not clear whether before the arrival of the Aramæans on the scene we have two Semitic substocks, successively moving southward from Asia Minor, or one moving southward continuously or rather intermittently over a very long period, with varying intensity.

lodytes; the beginners of those wonderful caves which are among the marvels of Palestine, and the impression of which upon the Jews is reflected in the references to their troglodytic predecessors in their legends and their folk-lore. Egyptian writings agree with this in so far as they exhibit Palestine as a barbarous region at this time. Somewhere about 2500 B. C., however, the excavators found the remains of a Semitic house-building people taking the place of those of this earlier, ruder, non-Semitic people.

The record seems to show that up to about 2500 B. C. a civilized non-Semitic people, the Sumerians, were in possession of southern Babylonia, but were being pressed upon by the Semites from the north; and that up to the same date Palestine was occupied by uncivilized non-Semitic peoples, the Sinaitic region being also in the possession of wild tribes, but more or less under control of Egypt, because of her mining interests. Between Babylonia and the uncivilized regions of Palestine and the Sinaitic lay a desert. To the north of this desert were aggressive northern Semites pressing southward; far off to the south of it were the southern Semites of Arabia. About 2500 B. C. the Semites gain the supremacy over the Sumerians in southern Babylonia, and at the same time a Semitic people occupies Palestine. Similarity of names at this period in Syria and Babylonia show that these Semites were all of the same stock, the Amorite. About the same time, also, some catastrophe befalls Egyptian civilization, and Egyptian records fail. This catastrophe is generally supposed to have been due to a foreign invasion,

and in view of the evidence of the invasion of Babylonia and Palestine by the Semitic Amorites at this time it is natural to suppose that it was hordes of the same stock which invaded Egypt and for a time prevented its civilization from functioning. In Syria and Babylonia the invaders more readily assimilated the existing civilization, and before the close of the third millennium we find, from inscriptions recovered in Babylonia, Assyria, and Cappadocia, that the region from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf was practically unified in culture and civilization and that a north Semitic, Babylonian script and language were in use well into Central Asia Minor. This was the great Amorite-Semitic invasion, and to this Amorite stock belong the Phœnicians and the Canaanites whom later the Israelites found in possession of the Holy Land.

Early in the second millennium Indo-European peoples began to press southward into Asia Minor, spurs or downthrusts, apparently, of that great movement eastward which brought the Aryans into Iran and India, and left the Scythians on the Russian and Central Asian plains. The most westerly of these downthrusts seems to have crossed over into Asia near the mouth of the Hellespont, in the Troad. Another, crossing near the mouth of the Bosphorus, pushed southward, establishing ultimately the Hittite empire in central Asia Minor, with Chatti, the modern Boghaz Keui, as its capital; another, perhaps descending from the northeast, founded the kingdom of the Mitanni in Mesopotamia; while eastward still another spur di-

rectly or indirectly overran Babylonia as Cassites and founded the Cassite dynasty there.[1] This was precisely like the later movements of the Scythians in the seventh century B. C., who overran hither Asia, establishing settlements as far west as Palestine; like the conquest of Central Asia by a small horde of 20,000 Galatians a few centuries later; like the sea raids of the Normans in the ninth and following centuries of our era, all of these European peoples moving southward and eastward; or like the similar westward movements of Asiatic hordes, Huns, Mongolians, and Turks, who later penetrated, overran, and established kingdoms in Europe and hither Asia. The conquerors were a relatively small body who dominated and ruled over a large mass with whom they ultimately amalgamated, sometimes being assimilated in language as in civilization, sometimes imposing their own language and customs on the country, and sometimes the two languages and civilizations combining, as in England.[2] Such invasions resulted from various causes, chiefly economic, pressure of population, change of climate

[1] According to the records discovered, the Hittites took and sacked Babylon in 1925, overthrowing the native Semitic dynasty, and thus preparing the way for the Cassite rule.

[2] The Mitanni show the most striking evidences of Indo-European origin in the names of their gods. In the case of Hittites and Cassites the evidence is rather linguistic, certain features of those languages appearing to be clearly European. It must be confessed, however, that our knowledge of those languages is as yet very imperfect, and in what we know there are other features as distinctly not Indo-European. The present evidence suggests such a union of a small governing people with a vastly larger mass alien in tongue as I have assumed above, but we are not yet out of the realm of speculation.

(especially diminution of rainfall resulting from earth changes, and consequent desiccation of the homeland[1]), desire for easier conditions, greed for the goods and wealth of richer peoples, ambition and adventure, and religious zeal or fanaticism. Such, single or combined, have been the motives which led peoples to leave their former domiciles and invade the lands of others. Conquest by such invaders was rendered possible by the effeminacy and pacifism of the more numerous and more civilized peoples conquered; or by some superiority in armament of the invaders over the invaded, as of copper over stone, iron over copper, gunpowder over steel. Such invasions and conquests always push out other foot-loose people, who, in their turn, may become invaders of other lands.

Some of the Indo-Europeans who invaded Asia Minor and established kingdoms there, pushed on farther southward with hordes of Asia Minorites, who had been driven out of their homes. The bulk of these hordes were pretty surely Semites, still of the older stock of Amorites, but they probably were led or officered by the conquering Indo-Europeans. So it is that the Bible tells us of Hittites among the populations of Palestine as far south as Hebron. Now these Indo-Europeans had prevailed over the Asia

[1] The excavations and explorations of Raphael Pumpelly in Turkestan, especially at and about Anau, seem to indicate this as the cause of extensive emigration from that region. There appear to be evidences of some touch of the people of this region with Babylonia at an early period, and also of emigration from this region westward into Europe; but the work done is not sufficient to give assured results.

Minorites partly, surely, because they had horses; and this is the first appearance of the horse upon the stage of military history. It was the possession of the horse,[1] thus introduced, which enabled these footloose hordes to sweep over Mesopotamia and Syria, and to enter and conquer Egypt, in the history of which country they are known as Hyksos. They established a loosely knit empire of great extent, whose exact boundaries we do not know, but which surely included Egypt and probably extended to the Taurus and the Euphrates. In general character it was presumably like some of the Mongolian empires of the Middle Ages. The Hyksos capital, Avaris, lay on the border between Egypt and Asia, and from this point the Hyksos ruled Egypt for 200 years.

Then came the reaction. Egypt, pressed to the ground, rose from it, like the giant of Greek story, to a new and vigorous life. It became a warrior nation. It appropriated the horse, and its chariots and horses became famous. It conquered Avaris, drove the Hyksos out of Egypt, and then attacked them in their Asiatic strongholds, of which Kadesh on the Orontes seems to have been the chief, gradually subduing Palestine and Syria to the Taurus and Euphrates, then crossing the Euphrates and attacking the Hkysos's cousins, the Mitanni of Mesopotamia. Among the various elements of this Asiatic Hyksos empire, which we find mentioned in the Egyptian records of these wars, are Jacob-her, or Jacob-el, the Jacob of the Bible,

[1] It is with the Cassites that we first have certain evidence of the use of the horse in war.

Photograph by Prof. Ellen Grant.

Jacob's Pillar.

Natural stone of memorial, of superhuman size, traditionally ascribed to Jacob, constituting the sacred feature of the Temple at Bethel.

and Joseph-el, the Joseph of the Bible, Amorite peoples of central Palestine whose homeland and sanctuaries the Hebrews later amalgamated with their own Israel.[1] Before the Hyksos conquest of Egypt, as we know from the Babylonian records, reflected also in the Bible, in the story of Abraham and Amraphel (Gen. 14), Palestine lay in the sphere of Babylonian influence and of Babylonian raids and conquests. After the overthrow of the Hyksos power and the establishment of the great Egyptian empire of the eighteenth dynasty, Egyptian culture and influence predominated throughout Palestine, as we learn from the excavations conducted at Lachish, Gezer, and Taanach;[2] except only that the Babylonian script and language continued to be the medium of international intercourse throughout all western Asia. It is indeed to Canaanite records, written in this Babylonian script and language, discovered in Egypt about a third of a century ago (1887–1888), that we owe our information about the fall of that Egyptian Asiatic empire, and the part in it which the Hebrews played. Those records are known as the Tel el-Amarna tablets, because they were written on clay tablets in the cuneiform script, and were found at the tel, or ruin mound, called el-Amarna, covering the site of Akhetaton, the capital of Akhenaton, or

[1] The same names, Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, appear at this time in Babylonia as personal names. The Jacob and Joseph of the Egyptian records are the names of peoples. In a similar manner later we find in the Assyrian records the personal name of Omri, king of Israel, used to designate land and people long after the death of the actual Omri.

[2] The Egyptian dominance of Egypt in Canaan is reflected in the close relationship of Canaan to Egypt in old Hebrew legend.

Ikhnaton, the reformer king of Egypt, 1375–1358 B. C.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century before Christ a belt of civilization, including both shores of the Mediterranean, extended vaguely from Spain on the west to China on the east, and from the Black Sea on the north to Nubia on the south. In this belt the great centres of civilization and power, of which we have certain knowledge, were Crete and the Ægean, Egypt, the Hittite empire in Asia Minor, the Mitanni in Mesopotamia, and farther eastward and northward Assyria, Babylon, and Elam. These all had their own systems of writing and kept records of some sort. In the ruins of this period we find tin, apparently from Central Europe, and amber from the Baltic, evidence of trade relations with those regions through the Black Sea, the Danube, and the Vistula; lapis lazuli from Bactria, and jade and cobalt from China.[1] It was the summit of the civilization of the copper age.

At that period all of the country from the Mediterranean to the Persian mountains and from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf up to the Taurus mountains and beyond them into Asia Minor was thoroughly Semitized, speaking a Semitic tongue and using the Babylonian script, although dominated in part by

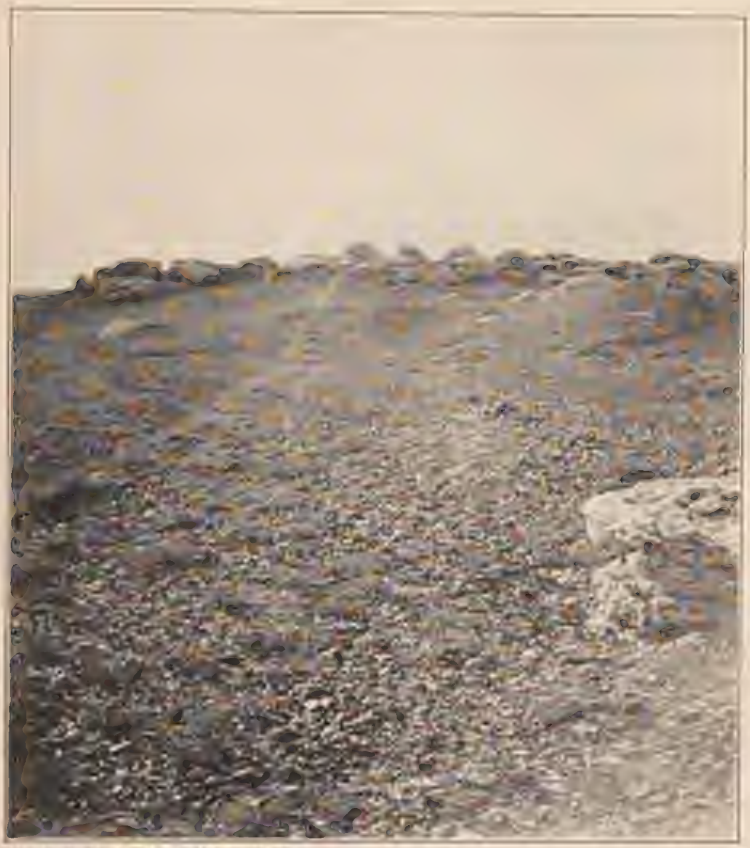
[1] In one store of a maker of votives in a booth outside the enclosure of the temple at Nippur of a date about 1400 B. C., I found amber from the Baltic, lapis lazuli from Bactria, magnesite from Euboea, bronze, alloyed with tin, probably from Saxony or Cornwall, malachite and turquoise, apparently from Sinai, and glass run in moulds as inscribed axe heads and colored to imitate lapis lazuli with cobalt from China.

rulers of other origin, the Egyptians on the west, in Palestine and Syria, the Hittites, the Mitanni, and the Cassites in southern Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia. This Semitic stock, it should be added, was not Aramæan, but, to use the term somewhat inaccurately, Amorite, the stock from which derive the Phœnicians and the Canaanites. The relations of the Semites of Palestine to Egypt, as a result of the conquests of the Thutmoses, the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, were intimate, and in the reigns of the later kings of that dynasty certainly friendly. Many Semites brought into Egypt as slaves became a little later tax-paying serfs, on a par with the ordinary Egyptian fellaheen. Syrians and Palestinians are represented on the monuments and inscriptions as coming and going freely, as settling in Egypt, and even occupying a position of influence there. The internal conditions of this period, the centring of all power in the hands of an autocratic king, are those depicted in the story of Joseph in the book of Genesis.

At that time, as I have already noted, a people or district in central Palestine was known to the Egyptians as Jacob-el and another as Joseph-el, and to this day there exist in the valley of Shechem (the name of which place occurs, by the way, in Egyptian records) eastward of the present town of Nablous, as the valley opens out into the plain of Makhna, the well of Jacob and the tomb of Joseph, the traditions of which go back to a period antedating the conquest and occupation of the country by the Hebrews. Just before the war there was discovered, close to this traditional tomb

of Joseph, a brick tomb, quite unlike all tombs heretofore discovered in Palestine, containing, with the bones of a man, utensils, and armor, and weapons, including a dagger, a coat of mail, and a truncheon of bronze, the dagger and truncheon enamelled and inlaid with precious metals in the unmistakable style of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty of the fifteenth century B. C. Apparently it was the tomb of an Egyptian official of high rank. While the exact bearing of all this may not yet be altogether plain, it shows at least that there lies historic truth behind the story of Joseph in the book of Genesis.

Certain origins of the Hebrew religion can also be traced back to the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. The name Moses is unmistakably Egyptian, the same which appears in composition in the names of the earlier and greatest kings of that dynasty, Ahmoses and Thutmoses, and which is common in inscriptions throughout that entire dynasty. The Ark has its closest affinities with Egyptian ritual use, and the monotheistic or quasi-monotheistic basis of Mosaism suggests strongly the monotheistic or quasi-monotheistic religion of the reformer king, Amenophis IV or Ikhnaton, with whom, and as a consequence of which, that dynasty came to an end. This reformer, it will be remembered, received his education at, and derived his inspiration from, Heliopolis, or On, and there also, according to the Hebrew account, Moses was trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. This reformer king, Amenhotep IV, it will be remembered, changed his religion from the worship of Amen, the great god



Photograph by Prof. Elihu Grant.

Jacob's Pillar from below.

Behind and above these stones, northward, the hill rises to a crest, called anciently Jacob's Ladder.

of Thebes, to that of Aton, the sun disk, more especially characteristic of Memphis. Similarly he changed his name from Amenhotep (Amenophis) to Akhenaton or Ikhnaton. At the same time he broke with the ancient conventions in art, and in social and religious etiquette. Basing on the Memphis worship of Aton, he sought to make a purer and quasi-monotheistic religion out of that worship, and to have the freer hand to do so, abandoning Thebes, he built himself a new capital, called Akhetaton, after the name of his god, the present ruin heaps of Amarna, where the tablets above referred to were discovered. After his death a reaction set in, the priests of Amen at Thebes gained the upper hand, and persecuted the Atonites as Ikhnaton had persecuted the Amenites. Ikhnaton's new capital was destroyed, and Thebes again became the capital, and Amen's religion and Amen's priests ruled Egypt as never before. Ikhnaton's statues and Ikhnaton's inscriptions were defaced and effaced, and an effort was made to blot out all memory of him from the land. Enough remains, however, to enable present-day scholars, as the result of their excavations and decipherments of inscriptions, to restore in its main features the history of his reform and the doctrines of his religion. The latter was strongly monotheistic in its tendencies, as witness the following from a "Hymn in Praise of Aton":

"How manifold are all thy works!
They are hidden from before us,
O thou sole god whose powers no other possesseth";

which might equally as well constitute part of some Hebrew ritual (*cf.* Ps. 104:24).

Still more striking in its monotheism is the following from a hymn to the Sun-god:

> "Who determines his own birth,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The primordial being, who himself made himself,
> Who beholds that which he has made,
> Sole lord taking captive all lands every day,
> As one beholding them that walk therein;
> Shining in the sky a being as the sun."[1]

But to return to the fall of the Egyptian empire in Syria and the relation to that of the Hebrews. It was when that empire was at the height of its power and splendor, during the reign of Amenhotep III, the Magnificent, that its decadence commenced. The letters from Egyptian governors and subject kings and allies found at Amarna tell the tale. New folk movements were evidently in progress in the north. In some connection with these the Hittites poured down from Asia Minor over the Taurus into northern Syria, ousting Amorites and destroying or amalgamating their states. At the same time appear Aramæan tribes and peoples, pushed out of their abode to the north and northeast. These press into Syria and Palestine and also into Assyria and Babylonia, the Sutu and Khabiru, or Hebrews. These Hebrews, it must be under-

[1] Translations from Breasted's *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.*

stood, were not the Hebrews in our ordinary restricted sense of the term, but the whole stock of which our Hebrews were but a part, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Amalek, and certain of the nomadic or Bedouin peoples of the desert and the desert border.[1] The genealogies given in Genesis enable us to determine, in general, the order in which they acquired settled abodes and became nations, as also their general affinities to one another and to Israel.

It was, however, under the son of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV, or Ikhnaton, that the danger from these invasions became imminent. He was a pacifist of the most extreme type, an anti-imperialist, concerned only with the internal affairs of Egypt, and of those almost exclusively with spiritual affairs. In the midst of the pressing dangers consequent on the attacks of external foes, he reduced the Egyptian army to a peace footing, and failed, if he did not refuse, to give assistance to his hard-pressed allies, subject kings, and governors. The letters to him found at Amarna depict the situation and his attitude vividly. One of his vassals from Syria writes: "Verily thy father did not march forth nor inspect the lands of the vassal princes." Apparently Amenophis the Magnificent preferred to send his generals, while he enjoyed his magnificence at home, unlike that doughty warrior emperor who created the Asiatic empire, Thutmose III. But worse

[1] Of these we commonly speak as Arabs, which is correct in so far as we use Arab as a term to denote a Bedouin condition of life, but not in its linguistic or ethnological sense. The Ishmaelites and other Bedouins of the Sinaitic and neighboring regions were Amorite or Aramæan linguistically and in the main ethnologically.

was to come: "When thou," his pacifist son, "ascendedst the throne, Abdashirta's sons took the king's land for themselves. Creatures of the King of Mitanni are they, and of the King of Babylon, and of the King of the Hittites." Those three, Hittites of Asia Minor, Mitanni of Mesopotamia, and Cassites of Babylonia, states or dynasties of supposed Indo-European origin, are making common cause against the Egyptian empire in Syria, the whole Amorite or native Syrian princes of the older Semitic stock are seizing the opportunity to declare their independence and annex such other territory as they could, pretending now to be on one side, now on another, so that the inefficient Egyptian foreign office was as likely to support foe as friend. According to a letter from the important town of Tunip this had then been going on for twenty years, and in this time no help had come from Egypt. In the south the conditions were similar. Troops of Khabiri, the Aramæan invaders, took service as mercenaries with Egyptian governors and subject kings alike. The various petty kings accuse one another of treasonable purpose, each professes to be loyal to Egypt and calls to the Pharaoh for help against the other and his Hebrew allies.

The Pharaoh seems to have turned all authority over to an official of Semitic race, Dudu or David by name, much as in the story contained in Genesis Pharaoh turned authority over to Joseph; and here we have evidence of the position which Semites of the old Amorite stock, Jacob, held in Egypt during the eighteenth dynasty, which was the friendly Pharaoh of

the Bible story. Abdkhiba[1] of Jerusalem, whose letters are among the most interesting and illuminating in the Amarna archives, writes to this David, "the scribe of my lord the king," telling him to "bring these words plainly before my lord the king," that "the whole land of my lord the king is going to ruin." Many of the Palestinians had forsaken their towns, and taken to the hills, or sought refuge in Egypt, where the Egytian officer in charge of some of them said of them: "They have been destroyed and their town laid waste—their countries are starving, they live like goats of the mountain." We are told "that a few of the Asiatics, who knew not how they should live, have come" seeking for domicile in Pharaoh's land, after a manner known from the time of Pharaoh's "father's fathers." The Pharaoh orders them to be settled in a region where they might protect the borders of his land, just as we are told that when Jacob and his children came down into Egypt they were settled in the land of Goshen. The reference in these letters to the fact that Asiatics had sought refuge in Egypt on account of famine in earlier times is borne out by inscriptions of those periods, which tell us of such famines, and one, at least, tells us of a seven-year famine in Egypt, like that described in the Joseph story.

With Ikhnaton's death came, as already stated, the counter-revolution in Egypt. The priests of Thebes, whom he had attempted to depose from their high

[1] Note the compound name, half Semitic, half Hittite, and compare with this Ezekiel's statement of the composite Amorite-Hittite ancestry of Jerusalem, 16 : 3; *cf.* also Gen. 25 : 34.

eminence, and whose religion he had persecuted, regained their power and destroyed Ikhnaton's city, which has remained desert to this day; and hence the discovery of these present archives. The land naturally fell into confusion. Egypt lost not only Syria, but also Palestine, only retaining a shadowy claim on the latter. This was the period when Moab and Ammon became nations, occupying the territory east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, the country known as Rutenu in the Egyptian inscriptions, that is Lotan or Lot,[1] whence Moab and Ammon, after a fashion similar everywhere, became the children of Lot, just as the Israelites were later to become the children of Jacob, with Isaac and Abraham as grandparent and great-grandparent. Between these two Hebrew or Khabiru nations, Moab and Ammon, there remained, according to the Israelite account, a remnant of the older Amorite peoples, whom the Israelites later conquered, thus locating themselves between their kindred peoples, Moab and Ammon. We have seen how Asiatics poured into the Egyptian borderlands during the Hebrew invasions. It appears from the Bible story that at some period before the close of the eighteenth dynasty Aramæan ancestors of Israel did the same thing. We have, however, no Egyptian record of that date which mentions them by name. The name Israel first appears in an inscription of Merneptah of the succeeding nineteenth dynasty, who also tells us of Edomites (from the descrip-

[1] L of Semite names appears as r in Egyptain, as in reverse fashion the Chinese convert our r into l.

tion, I fancy, they were rather what we commonly call Amalekites), who were a part or offshoot of Edom (*cf.* Gen. 36), coming into Egypt in his day in precisely the way described above.

With the nineteenth dynasty, Egypt comes out of the state of confusion into which it had been thrown by the reform and counter-reform and revolution of the closing days of the eighteenth dynasty, and under a new and strong king, Seti, the first king of that dynasty, it begins to reassert its suzerainty in Palestine and Syria. In the latter country the Hittites had by this time established a strong kingdom, and after overrunning Palestine the Egyptians found themselves face to face with an empire quite equal to their own. Seti's son, Ramses II, has left us an account of his wars with the Hittites, from which we learn that in a great battle fought near Kadesh on the Orontes there were in the army of the Hittite king contingents from as far north as Cilicia and Bedouin elements from the south. Apparently Hittites and Amorites and Aramæans were all fighting together under his standard. The battle in which, through bad strategy, Ramses almost suffered defeat was barely redeemed by his personal valor. He claims the victory. It seems in fact to have been a drawn battle in which both sides suffered heavily. Later a treaty was concluded with the Hittite king, Hattusil, a copy of which in Egyptian was found on Ramses's monuments, and a corresponding copy in the Hittite language has recently been found at the Hittite capital, known as Hatti City, the modern Boghaz Keui in northern Central Asia Minor.

It seems clear from the story of Exodus that this Ramses II was the Pharaoh of the oppression. We are told that the Israelites were compelled by the Pharaoh to labor at building store cities in Goshen, Ramses and Pithom. One of these, Pithom, has in fact been discovered, and proved to be a construction of Ramses. One can well see the necessity which he had, on one hand, of labor for his vast undertakings and, on the other, of holding down and rendering powerless the large Asiatic element which in previous reigns had been brought into Egypt, and which would naturally be sympathetic with the enemies in Asia whom Ramses was fighting. It is more difficult to determine the date of the Exodus and the name of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, for the Israelite record gives us no names of the Pharaohs, but only the title Pharaoh, which belongs alike to all. The tendency of the latter years had been to assume as the Pharaoh of the Exodus Merneptah, Ramses's successor, but in 1896 there was discovered an inscription of Merneptah regarding what appears to have been a punitive expedition into Palestine. It reads as follows, translating freely the names or designations of the people mentioned: "No one among the foreign nations raises his head. The Libyans are destroyed. The Hittites are at peace. Canaan is captive in all its quarters. Ashkelon is carried into captivity. Gezer is taken. Yenoam is annihilated. Israel is destroyed; its crops are no more. South Palestine has become like a widow. All the lands are in peace together. Their leader has been conquered by King Merneptah, who, like the sun,

gives light each day." A boastful proclamation of general victory over all foes, and a truly royal and Egyptian exaggeration! But, however much it may be exaggerated, and however false may be some of the claims made by him, the important point is that Merneptah mentions Israel as being in his day among the occupants of southern Palestine; apparently, therefore, we must place the period of the Exodus a little earlier than Merneptah, somewhere in the long reign of Ramses II, who was also the Pharaoh of the oppression.

We have in Hebrew tradition one indication of the date of the Exodus, from the period in which records had begun to be kept in the kingdom of Judah. In I Kings, 6th chapter, and 1st verse, we are told that "in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the 4th year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the second month," he began to build the temple. Now he began to build the temple about 950 B. C. Counting back from that date 480 years, we have the year 1430, which would carry us back long before the time of Amenophis III, in whose reign we find the earliest mention, in the Amarna letters, of Hebrews.

In the year 1882 there was discovered, in the city of Sippar in Babylonia, a record dated in a similar manner. Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king, who, like Ikhnaton of Egypt, was a dreamer, a religious reformer, and a pacifist, brought his army from Gaza and set it, not to prepare to resist the aggressions of Cyrus, but to excavate Sippar, the temple of which he

desired to restore. There he tells us that they unearthed the record of the great king, Naram Sin, which no one before him had ever seen, since it had been deposited there 3,200 years before. Curiously, the scholars who were all so suspicious of Hebrew and Bible dates, and who had quite thrown away the 480 years from Solomon to the Exodus, accepted this date without question, and with one accord Assyriologists declared that Naram Sin reigned in Akkad, the capital of which was Sippar, 3750 B. C., and his father Sargon, the great half-mythical king of old Semitic Babylonian story, they consequently placed about 3800 B. C. These they regarded as ascertained dates, from which they proceeded confidently to count backward and forward. I believe that for a good while I was the only scholar who protested this dating. I noted that in the case of the Babylonian, as in the case of the Hebrew, record each number, 480 and 3200, was a multiple of 40, which is used continually in the Old Testament to indicate a generation. I suspected that in the case of the Babylonian date what had been done by the scribe was to count the number of kings in the king's lists which he had before him, *i. e.*, the number of royal generations from Nabonidus to Naram Sin. He found 80 names of kings, and multiplying 80 by 40, the number of years to a generation, he obtained the number 3200. But in reality a generation is much shorter than 40 years. Taking all the king lists of Israel, Judah, Assyria, and Babylonia, which were then available, and averaging the reigns of the kings in those lists, I found that the average royal genera-

tion was considerably less than thirty years, and suggested accordingly that this number should be reduced by about 1,000 years, and that the real date of Sargon was therefore more nearly 2,800 than 3,800, which seemed to me also to fit in better with what we knew from other sources. When I came to excavate old Nippur, I found in fact that the remains of Sargon lay, without intervening strata (or with almost no intervening strata), immediately below those of Ur Gur, king of Ur, whose date was nearer the middle of the third than of the fourth millennium. To-day all scholars are agreed that Sargon belongs not in the fourth, but in the third millennium, and the latest authorities date him about 2600 or 2650 B. C., 150 or 200 years later than I had suggested as his earliest possible date.

Apply the same method to the Hebrew date recorded in I Kings, and I think we shall obtain approximately the date for the Exodus which I have suggested. If you will regard the 480 years as meaning twelve generations, and suppose that the scribes of Solomon who have left us this record had lists of some sort from which they counted out twelve generations, and will then reduce those generations in the manner in which I suggested in the case of the Babylonian inscriptions, counting each generation as not forty but between twenty and thirty years, you will have, instead of 480, approximately 330 years, and the date of the Exodus would fall about 1280, in the earlier part of the reign of Ramses II. This, as you will see, will fall in line with Merneptah's inscription also.

I called attention earlier to the fact that about 1400 B. C. the civilization of the copper age had reached its climax, and that at that time we begin to find signs of an approaching downfall. Movements in the north, of nations of the same stock as our own ancestors, and in the east and northeast movements of peoples of other stock from Central Asia, were exerting pressure on the civilized and semicivilized lands in Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. It was probably partly this which led the Hittites to cross the Taurus mountains and invade Syria. In the time of Ramses II we find Sardinians from the Italian region serving as mercenaries, just as we saw that the Hebrews served as mercenaries for and against the Egyptians in the time of Ikhnaton. These folk movements increased in force and volume, until about 1200 B. C. we are plunged in Cimmerian gloom, dark ages comparable to those which followed the movements of the barbarian hordes that overthrew the Roman empire in the post-Christian period. All the world seemed afoot. This was the period of the Dorian invasion of Greek legend, which brought the Greeks into Greece and overthrew the Mycenæan-Ægean civilization. Egyptian inscriptions of King Ramses III, of the twentieth dynasty, show us hordes of Sardinians, Philistines, and tribes from Crete and the Ægean islands and the shores of Asia Minor, pouring down by sea and by land on the Egyptian coast, and into Syria and Palestine. He claims to have met and defeated those hordes, but if he succeeded in repelling them from his own borders, it is clear that he failed to expel

them from Palestine and Syria. The great Hittite empire which had lasted for 200 years was blotted out. The Philistines and their kindred tribes whom we find mentioned, some in the Hebrew, some in the Egyptian records, gained possession of the Palestinian coastland southward of Phœnicia. Farther eastward the kingdom of Mitanni in Mesopotamia was overthrown and the Cassite rule over Babylonia came to an end. The invaders in those eastern regions were Aramæans, who were being pushed out of their homes in Asia Minor by invasions of Asianic hordes, as the kindred Amorites had been pressed out at the time of the invasions of the Hittites, and were pouring southward in many tribes. We can get few details of this period. We know surely only what went before and what followed after. This was the period when the Hebrews, moving out of the south land of Palestine, settled themselves first in the country between Moab and Ammon, conquering the Amorites who were in possession, and from there, after how long a period we do not know, invaded Palestine. Partly from the later writings of their historians, partly from their folk-lore and traditions, recorded especially in the names, locations, and relationships of their tribes, we know that it was the elder branch, the children of Leah, who first settled eastward of Jordan, as Reuben, the oldest son, and who also first crossed the Jordan into Canaan in the south, as Judah, the second son, and in the centre, as Simeon and Levi, came to grief at Shechem,[1] those tribes losing henceforth their tribal

[1] Gen. 35.

existence and identity. Reuben, the elder son, that is the first one settled, remained in the region first conquered, which is the meaning in fact of the statement in the genealogy that Reuben was the eldest son. Judah pushed across the Jordan, just north of the Dead Sea, following the road toward Bethlehem, and ultimately united with kindred peoples, Calebites and Kenizzites, at and about Hebron and southward, to form the great historical tribe of Judah. In the north, by the plain of Esdraelon, the tribes of Zebulun and Issachar entered western Palestine, settling in that plain and in lower Galilee. To these children of Leah, full-blooded Aramæans, were joined in Canaan two peoples of the older Amorite stock, already in the country, Gad in Gilead by Reuben, and Asher[1] northward, by Zebulun and Issachar, which is the meaning of the story in the Bible that these were children, not of Jacob's wife Leah, but of the concubine whom she gave to Jacob. The second invasion was that of the Joseph-ite tribes, of whom Manasseh was the elder, that is, he first attained the settled state, pushing in to the north of Reuben, and sharing with Gad, the son of his stepmother Leah's handmaid, *i. e.*, an Amorite people adopted into Israel, Gilead, beyond Jordan. Later they pushed across the Jordan, and as Ephraim and half Manasseh occupied central Palestine, first Bethel and Shiloh, then Shechem, and finally all the country northward to the great plain of Esdraelon, *i. e.*, the ancient land of Joseph, whence they became

[1] This is confirmed by the mention in earlier Egyptian inscriptions of Asher as inhabiting that region.

sons of Joseph, as Moab and Ammon became children of Lot.[1] Benjamin was born in the land, so the story tells us. His name means son of the south, he being the southern segment of the Rachelite tribes, and his mother was buried near Bethlehem. To these tribes of pure Aramæan stock, the children of Rachel, were added, as in the case of the other branch of Israel, the children of Leah, two Canaanite tribes, *i. e.*, Canaanite peoples who accepted the religion of the God of Israel and so became part of Israel. One of these was Dan, whose name, as well as the name of his great hero, Samson, or sun man, indicates that the tribe had originally worshipped the Sun-god, just as the tribe of Gad had worshipped the god of Fortune. Dan represents the farthest extension southwestward of the Josephites. He dwelt on the border of the Philistine plain, and his principal town was Beth Shemesh, House of the Sun-god. Here the Danites were exposed to the onslaughts of the Philistines, by whom they were ultimately dispossessed. Then they removed to the extreme north, as we are told in Judges, and made a new settlement just beneath Mount Hermon, where they established the temple of Dan, with the descendants of Moses as its priests. In that same region, and southward on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, lay also the other tribe of Canaanite descent, which was absorbed in the children of Rachel, namely Naphtali.

[1] Israel, on the other hand, was identified with Jacob, and Jacob was made son and grandson of Isaac and Abraham respectively; all of these being methods of recounting tribal and national history and connections which may be paralleled from many sources.

But to return to that with which I began, and which is the real topic of this lecture, the race history of the Hebrews and the site of the Aramæan homeland: Hebrew tradition, as represented by the story of the relation of the patriarchs to Mesopotamia; as represented by that ancient liturgy of Shechem contained in the book of Deuteromomy, which commences: "A wandering Aramæan was my father" (26:5); as represented in the prophecies of Amos, who speaks of Kir as the homeland of Israel; as represented by those early traditions contained in the location of Eden, in the location of the resting-place of the Ark and the home of Noah; as represented by the genealogies of Genesis—Hebrew tradition as represented by all of these, points to the region which we now know as Armenia, by the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and southward from that down the western slopes of the Persian mountains, as the homeland of Israel's first ancestors, and it also points to an Aramæan origin for the Hebrew.[1]

[1] As we know the Hebrews, however, they did not speak Aramæan but Amorite, a dialect identical with that of the Canaanites and close of kin to Phœnician. They and the kindred Khabiru peoples were profoundly affected by the Canaanites, a related people, but one vastly more advanced in civilization and culture, and, a common phenomenon in similar circumstances the world over, dropped Aramæan and adopted Canaanite, modified, however, by their Hebrew origin. That is the language which we know as Hebrew. Much later, long after the Exile, when Aramæan had become the lingua Franca of western Asia, the Hebrews with all the neighboring peoples dropped what had by that time become their native tongue, once more reverting to Aramæan. So some of the later parts of the Old Testament are written in Aramæan (frequently translated Syrian, and in the King James' version of Daniel Chaldean), which was also the language of Palestine in the time of Christ.

Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions confirm the Armenian origin of the Aramæans. They are first named in the latter centuries of the second millennium, appearing on the scene as a part of that great upheaval of which I have spoken as occurring then. These inscriptions represent them as pressing down on both Assyria and Babylonia, from the mountainous regions to the northwest, north and east of Assyria. Shortly we find them in possession of Mesopotamia and pouring into northern Syria. This movement downward from Syria to the Persian mountains with, apparently, Armenia as its centre, continues for the next 600 years or more. The annals of the Assyrian king, Ashur-nazir-pal, give us very full information with regard to the Aramæan states in his day, the first half of the ninth century. Asianic hordes of some description were at that time pushing into Armenia, unsettling the Aramæan populations there and forcing them southward. Ashur-nazir-pal conducts expedition after expedition against such Aramæan peoples, who were invading Assyrian territory, the Aramæan states which he mentions in his annals extending beyond Diarbekir to the northwest in Asia Minor. Two centuries later, in Ashur-bani-pal's reign, the Aramæans, moving downward on the edge of the Persian mountains, have pushed well southward into Babylonia and joined hands with Elam. At that time they occupied all northern Syria and the country east and southeast of Palestine, well into northwestern Arabia, and their language had become the lingua Franca from the Mediterranean to the Persian mountains.

We find one further argument in support of the correctness of the old Hebrew tradition of the homeland of their Aramæan ancestors in the ethnological traits of the modern Armenians. While the Armenian language belongs to the Indo-European family of languages, the same is not true of the Armenian people. It requires no great observation to determine from their physical characteristics and appearances that the Armenian and the Jew are very closely related to one another. In fact, it requires considerable discrimination to distinguish one from the other. It is true that one notices in both peoples, Armenian and Jew, many dissimilar individuals. Among the Armenians with whom I was thrown in contact in Asia, I noted occasionally persons of distinctly Indo-European type, and others who were Tatar-Mongolian in form and feature, but the typical Armenian was scarcely distinguishable from the typical Jew, and both presented the same characteristics which are apparent in Assyrian sculpture. Indeed, those sculptures might very well pass for representations either of the Jew or of the Armenian of to-day, of which I have had some curious illustrations in actual experience. Also I have been interested and amused to observe that while Arabs could detect a Jew or an Armenian as not being an Arab merely from his physical appearance, they could not discriminate between Armenian and Jew any more than I. Moreover, not only are the Armenians and Jews alike in appearance, but the likeness between them in mental and moral attributes and in a curious race persistence has been commented upon

by most observers. Armenia has been overrun and invaded from the earliest time of which we have any knowledge by peoples of all races and nationalities, but apparently that has happened there which has happened in some other regions: the underlying race, although conquered and assimilated by its conquerors, so far as language or even religion and civilization are concerned, has retained through all its primitive type and has indeed absorbed into itself its conquerors.

The evidence at present in hand indicates Asia Minor, including Armenia, or Asia Minor and the country south of it from the Taurus mountains to the Euphrates, as the homeland of the northern Semites. To the west were the Amorites, who first reached civilization in northern Babylonia and Syria, and from whom ultimately were descended the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians, the Phœnicians and the Canaanites. The Aramæans, to whom belonged the Hebrews, occupying originally, apparently, a region somewhat farther toward the east, reached civilization later than the Amorites. Pushed out by invasions from behind, they poured down into Babylonia and Assyria, where, however, they were absorbed in the dominant Assyrian-Babylonian civilization, while more to the west, in Mesopotamia and Syria, they overwhelmed that civilization, establishing kingdoms and empires of their own, ultimately their language becoming the language of international intercourse over all hither Asia north of the Arab peninsula.

## II

## COSMOGONY AND FOLK-LORE

In the previous lecture we were concerned with Hebrew legends. From the legendary lore contained in Genesis and Exodus, with occasional references and allusions in later books of the Old Testament, illuminated by discoveries in Egypt and Palestine, Asia Minor, Assyria, and Babylonia, we determined the ancestry of the Hebrews, and traced the prenatal growth of Israel from its wombland in the distant Aramæan-Armenian northeast, carried into and through Mesopotamia to Palestine and then to Egypt; its relations to the older Amorite stock in both of those lands; its friendly reception in the latter under the eighteenth dynasty and the favorable influence upon it of the Egypt of Ikhnaton, followed by the oppression under the nineteenth dynasty; and in part the process of birth by which it became a nation of twelve tribes occupying Canaan, with a new religion in its heart. The theme of the present lecture is the origin and development of the characteristic ideas of Israel, its mythology, including cosmogony, its folk-lore, and its institutions. The legends of a people are the traditions of its primitive history, told generally in the form of personal narratives; its mythology is its interpretation of natural phenomena, of the universe and

its part in the same, also in the form, as a rule, of personal narratives; so that to some extent legend and myth overlap, and a given narrative may combine both myth and legend. The personal narratives of the acts of the gods or of God, the intercourse of the sons of the gods with the daughters of men, God walking and talking with Adam and Eve in Eden, the temptation of mankind by the Serpent, the pictures of creation, are clearly mythology; the narratives of Abraham, Jacob, and even Moses combine or may combine both legend and myth, the tradition of historical events, and the explanation of the forces behind those events, both in the form of personal narrative, man and God walking and talking and acting together. Legend tells the ancestry, migrations, race relations, struggles, and conquests of a people; mythology reveals the origin and development of its ideas; the understanding of the one is essential to the understanding of its primitive history on its external side, of the other to its religious, moral, and mental development.

It was in the year 1872 that a young Englishman, George Smith, curator in the Assyrian-Babylonian section of the British Museum, found a fragment of a clay tablet from ancient Nineveh which contained a record strikingly similar to the story of the Flood as found in the sixth and following chapters of Genesis. The publication of this discovery aroused enormous interest, and the editor of one of the London papers, *The Telegraph*, contributed a thousand pounds to send Smith out to Assyria to search for further remains of a similar character. The fragment which he had

found proved to be part of the eleventh book of a sort of epic liturgy, containing a Sun myth in twelve cantos, with historical legends and traditions interwoven. Fragments of the other cantos were ultimately recovered and pieced together, so that in a general way we now know the contents of the whole myth. This was the beginning of the discovery of numerous Babylonian parallels to the stories contained in the first volume of Genesis (chaps. 1–11), which led ultimately to the development of a school of students who came to be called *Babylonians*, because they referred about everything in the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, to some Babylonian source. When one considers the contents of this first volume of Genesis in connection with what has now been found in old Babylonian documents, one is not altogether surprised at the extreme to which these *Babylonians* have driven their theory.

Attention once called to it, even without going to the documents excavated in Babylonia and Assyria, one notices to what extent those earlier chapters of Genesis are full of Babylonian references and allusions. Take, for instance, the second chapter, the one which we designated as the chapter of the preparation of the world. In this story the existence of the world itself is assumed, but it was a dry and barren waste. The conditions of creation here described are entirely unlike those which we find in the Babylonian myths or legends. The mise en scène is derived from a dry land like southern Palestine, or even the still drier country southward, where Israel consorted with the Ke-

nites. Nevertheless, we soon find a point of contact with Babylonia. We meet the Babylonian rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, springing from the great abyss of waters which lies beneath the Garden of Eden, and that divine garden at the source of those streams is part of the divine abode located, as in Babylonian mythology, in the mountains of the north. We find a further local reference in the mention of the ancient capital of Assyria, the city of Ashur, which lay on the river Tigris. This, like the race lists, contained in the tenth chapter of our present Genesis, which, as already pointed out, connect themselves with this same region, shows traditional connection of the Hebrew ancestors with the country northward and eastward of Assyria, and I attempted in the former lecture to show why that was the case, *viz.*, that the Aramæan forefathers of the Hebrews originated in that country, whence they brought with them certain myths and legends.[1] Possibly this fact may throw light, also, on some of the other likenesses between the Hebrew stories and the Babylonian, which I propose to note in the present lecture.

In the flood story, chapters 6–9 of our present book of Genesis, modern Bible students have pointed out that two different documents are combined to form our present narrative. Both of these are similar to

[1] If the creation myth of Gen. 2 was a part of this older good, or even if it originated in the second Hebrew homeland of Mesopotamia, we have an explanation both of the dry land mise en scène and of the local references to the Tigris, Euphrates, and Assyria. If, as has been maintained, it was of Canaanite or Sinaitic origin, those references are most difficult of explanation.

the flood story which George Smith discovered in the clay tablet in the library of Ashur-bani-pal in Nineveh, but one represents conditions similar to those of Babylonia, inundations and not merely rain causing the flood; the other represents the conditions of a hill or mountainous country, where water comes from heaven only, and not from river inundations. Both agree, however, in connecting the flood with the region northeastward of Assyria, the same region to which may belong the dry land cosmogony of Gen. 2, and where also was located Eden. Both show connection with the regions and the ideas of the Babylonian civilization. Only one, however, seems to show a close relation to the actual written story found in Babylonia.[1] When we turn to the story of creation, we find the same thing. There are two cosmogonies, the one a lengthy and detailed cosmogony, comprising the first chapter of Genesis and the first three verses of the second chapter; the second, quite dissimilar, a briefer folk-story, contained in chapter two, the chapter of the preparation, to which I referred in the previous lecture. I want first to call your attention to the relation of this longer Hebrew cosmogony to the Babylonian.

Some years since, I was asked to write, for Hasting's *Encyclopædia of Religion*, an article on Hebrew cosmogony. I supposed that I knew thoroughly the first

[1] This is the document commonly known as P, longer, more precise and schematic, later than J, which is shorter, simpler folk-lore. There is precisely the same difference between the two cosmogonies, P of Gen. 1, and J of Gen. 2.

chapter of Genesis. The first Hebrew that I ever learned was that chapter, and to this day I can recite from memory the Hebrew of its first few verses, one of the most familiar parts of the whole Bible, the translation of which into English is doubtless equally familiar to you. Now, where a thing is so familiar, it is frequently the case that we accept the tradition which has come down without investigation. It seems to us an axiom, and so the translation of the first few verses of the first chapter of Genesis was, I suppose, axiomatic to my mind. It had never occurred to me that there could be any mistake about that. When, however, I began to use those verses for critical purposes, I was quickly brought face to face with the fact that the translation ordinarily accepted could not possibly stand.

This was the passage on which my studies came to grief: "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." (In the American Standard Revision, as in the King James translation, "Spirit" is printed with a capital letter; in the English Revised Version, with a small letter.) This translation of the American revisers goes back through Christian tradition to late Jewish tradition, but every commentator, American or English, who has expounded the passage, has also called attention to the fact that there is no other passage in the Old Testament where the words rendered *Spirit of God* have such a meaning. That gave me pause; but the very next word, "moved upon," or as the English Revised Version has it, "brooding over," aroused still greater questioning. I began to

ask myself what I had before me. The "brooding over" of the English Revised gave expression to the common view in commentaries as to the interpretation of the passage. It suggested the "spirit of God," without a capital, as brooding over the world egg, such a view of the creation of the world as you find in the Indian cosmogonies. There is, however, no mention of an egg here, and there is no slightest allusion to anything being brought out of an egg. Moreover, nowhere else in the Bible, or in Hebrew literature or tradition, can there be found any evidence of the existence among the Hebrews of such an idea. I began to ask myself: "What then does this passage mean, which I supposed I knew how to translate and of which I thought I understood the meaning?" I looked up the word translated "moved upon" or "brooded over." I found that it was used in only two other places in the Bible (Deut. 32 : 11 and Jer. 23: 9), and in the same form, mood or tense in which it appears in Gen. 1 : 2, in only one other place (Deut. 32 : 11). I found that a comparison of the kindred languages gave no certainty as to the meaning of the root. That it connoted some form of motion was clear, but what? Turning to the ancient translations, I found that they were equally in the dark. Their renderings were vague or uncertain. In the passage in Jeremiah in which the root occurred, it seemed to mean a violent shaking, as of a man in the ague of fright, but that was not altogether certain. Some translators supposed it to mean, not the shaking of the bones, but the dissolving of the bones through becoming absolutely

powerless with fear.' The other passage in which the word appears is that beautiful verse in the song of Moses, where the poet describes an eagle in her nest and her dealing with her young:

> "As an eagle that stirreth up her nest,
> That *fluttereth over* her young,
> He spread abroad his wings, he took them,
> He bore them on his pinions."[1]

Here the word is translated in all three versions, the Accepted, and both the English and American Revised, as "fluttereth over." As I read that passage, it seemed to me that I had an eye-witness picture of the way in which the eagle, or rather the griffon or rock vulture, for I suppose that is the bird actually referred to, deals with her young; and that if I could get from some naturalist an exact description of this I should probably get the correct meaning of the word in Genesis also. For some years I pestered distinguished ornithologists in this country and abroad, with unsatisfactory results. Some of the most distinguished informed me that what professed to be described here was absolutely impossible and quite contrary to nature. Our passage says that the eagle spreads abroad his wings and takes and bears his young on his pinions. They assured me that no bird could possibly do this, and some of them told me that eagles and, in fact no birds, ever teach their young to fly, that birds fly by nature. Only one ornithologist said to me: "The fact of the matter is, we do not know anything about it. If you had asked

[1] Translation of the American Standard Revision.

me anything else about eagles, I think I could have told you, but when you asked me this question and I came to look it up, I found that we had absolutely no evidence or record on the subject." In the meantime, my own experience with some birds told me that, so far, at least, as the "stirring up" of the nest was concerned, it was a very frequent thing for robins, pigeons, ravens, and other small birds to force backward young ones out of the nest. Most birds fly by themselves by nature, but now and then there is one that will not do so. You may have seen occasionally a young robin on the ground or on a shrub or the lower branches of a tree, with the old birds flying about and making rushes at it. That young bird had not flown with the others and they had pushed it out of the nest. When a bird is pushed out of the nest, it generally takes to the wing, but some do not and those that you see on the ground are those which do not. Then the old birds make every effort to persuade or force them into flight, chiding them, coaxing them, rushing at them, and even striking them. I found also one record in commentaries on this passage which described two eagles in Scotland teaching their young to fly. They were ascending in spirals, and at intervals one eagle would drop underneath the eaglet and support it on its wings for a brief space, apparently to rest it, then drop out and ascend once more; but I could not verify the record.[1] Later I obtained from a reliable eye-wit-

[1] Apparently, one commentator copied this with some variation from another, no one, however, giving the original source. A similar incident was recorded with frills in a work of Doctor Long, but I was assured that he was a "nature faker."

ness, Doctor Talcott Williams, of Columbia University, an account of similar action on the part of storks, as also of their "stirring up" their nests. In his boyhood, he had lived near Mosul in Turkey, close to the minaret of a ruined mosque, which was inhabited by a colony of storks. Every spring they flew north, but before the northward flight began there was the very interesting process of schooling backward storks to fly. There was always a certain number of young storks in the colony which would not or could not take wing. These the older birds had to drive out of the nest and teach to fly before the colony could start on its annual migration. The long-legged young storks, squawking loudly and awkwardly sprawling all over the nest, would resist with all their might the efforts of their parents to eject them. When at last the older ones succeeded in pushing them out, most of them took to flight with proper motions of their wings, but some would drop down, more or less inert or with futile flappings. These older storks, flying beneath, would catch on their pinions. Occasionally one would fall between, strike the ground, and be killed. In general, however, some stork beneath would succeed in catching the falling youngster, and act as a support for him to take off again until at last he had him on the wing.

But before I received this information about the habits of storks, there came to me evidence with regard to the eagles in our Rocky Mountains. In a missionary paper, *The Spirit of Missions*, I saw a reproduction of a photograph of an eagle's nest with young

eagles in it on the edge of a wild cliff. It seemed to me that whoever had photographed that might also have been able to observe the dealings of the old eagle with its young. I therefore wrote to Bishop Nathaniel Thomas, of Wyoming, in whose jurisdiction the station lay in which the photograph had been taken, told him what I was doing and asked him to put me in touch with the person who had taken that photograph. He did better. He multiplied my letter and sent it, with one of his own, to stations up and down the Rocky Mountains, and then the information came pouring in. The passage in Deuteronomy is written by one who knew what he was talking about and who had seen it himself. My correspondents told me of the occasional young eagle, which they had seen, who would not fly; of the "stirring up" of the nest, to use the words in our English Bible, which means that the parents pushed it out of the nest; of the occasional young eagle thus ejected who would slope down on to some crag in the cliff and stay there, refusing to fly farther; of the way the parent birds would bring tempting tidbits, birds, rabbits, pieces of meat, holding them off from it that it might fly out to get them; or how they would rush down on the young eagle to strike it if necessary and drive it from its perch and make it fly. Then, after it had taken to the wing, perhaps the young bird would lose its strength or its head and start to fall to the ground, but one or the other of the parent birds would always be flying beneath to catch it on its pinions and bear it up until it was ready to take off again. This made clear the

meaning of the word used in the passages in Deuteronomy and Genesis, nor could there be further doubt about the meaning of the form from the same root used in Jeremiah. The latter means a violent shaking, as in fear, not a dissolving of the bones; and in the other two passages the motion described is a rushing onset, a violent motion, not a brooding or fluttering. This translation harmonizes also with the normal and proper meaning of the word translated "spirit."

Verses 1 and 2 describe the preparation out of chaos of a world entity in which creation may operate. When God came in the very beginning of things to create the world he found chaos—the earth "waste and void" and *Tehom* hidden in the darkness. Now the word "Tehom," rendered "deep" in our Bible translation, is identical with the Babylonian *Tiamat* or *Tiamtu*, the monster of chaos, and in the Hebrew, as in the Babylonian, it is a proper rather than a common noun. The peculiar words *tohu* and *bohu* in our Hebrew text, rendered "waste" and "void," are also identical with words used in the Babylonian cosmogony. Against this monster, chaos or *Tehom*, lurking in the darkness of that "waste and void," which was in the place where earth was to be, "rushed the wind of God." Such is literally the statement contained in the first two verses of the book of Genesis. Now compare with this in the Babylonian cosmogony the victory of Merodach or Marduk over Tiamat and his creation out of her carcass of heaven and earth. Tiamat or chaos was the mother of all things, from whom through æons of propagation came ultimately the gods. She

was also the mother of hideous monsters, serpents, and dragons, which peopled the waste and void. These were her special and characteristic progeny, and between her and them and the gods was war. But the gods could make no head against them, and the greatest of the older gods recoiled in terror or retired discomfited from the conflict with Tiamat. Then Marduk of Babylon, of the younger generation of the gods, offered himself as their champion if they would own him lord of all. He made his face shine with lightning—he filled his body with flashing fire, he devised a net to encompass Tiamat, and created the seven winds to trouble her. Then with the gods, his followers, he went forth to war against Tiamat and her horde of monsters. She screamed wrathfully, she made charms and uttered spells, but he was not dismayed, as the older gods had been, but met her in single combat. He encompassed her with his net to make her tangible, and when she opened to the utmost her huge devouring jaws, he loosed the winds and "made the blast rush into her, or ever she closed her lips. Raging gusts her belly filled, and her sense was taken away, and she opened wide her mouth. He thrust in his lance, rent her belly, tore open her inside, pierced the heart—destroyed her life. Her carcass he threw down, upon her he stood." Then he framed a wise device. "He rent her, like the body of a gazelle, in twain; the half of her he wrought and made heaven's dome," the other half constituting the earth. "He drew bolts, he stationed warders, charging them not to let the waters issue forth," the ocean beneath and

the ocean above, for heaven and earth were counterparts, to bring back the "waste and void." With Tiamat's fall her followers fled, but the greatest of them he captured and "shut up in prison," and the "mob of demons" he made subject. So Marduk, god of Babylon, became god of gods and lord of lords. "He formed a station for the great gods; stars, their likenesses, he stationed there. He appointed the year, dividing it into seasons; the twelve months—three stars for each he stationed." "The moon he made shine forth; made him overseer of light, to determine days." [1]

The first two verses of Genesis tell of the same battle of God with chaos (*Tiamat, Tehom*), who is conquered by the same rushing wind, and out of whom is formed heaven and earth. The darkness of the waste and void is dispelled by the light from the brightness of God's presence (3). In the Hebrew cosmogony, as in the Babylonian, God surveys the world, dividing ocean from ocean in the two counterparts, heaven and earth, set one over against the other (6–8). So, also, the stars he sets "for signs, and for seasons," and makes the moon "to rule the night" (14–18). Neither does God in the Hebrew cosmogony destroy all the brood of the monsters of chaos, but some of them he lets live, imprisoned in the deep (21). As the Hebrew cosmogony is in seven divisions, or days, so also the Babylonian cosmogony is divided into seven parts, or books, each written on a separate tablet. We are not, indeed, able to compare the two cosmogonies in all their de-

[1] *Cf.* for translations C. J. Ball, *Light from the East.*

tails, because these Babylonian tablets are fragmentary, but this much is clear: that the Hebrew cosmogony contained in Gen. 1:2–3 has somewhere behind it a source practically identical with this Babylonian cosmogony.

I have called this cosmogony of the seven tablets Babylonian. The fragments which have come down to us were found in the library of the Assyrian king, Ashur-bani-pal, and were written in the seventh pre-Christian century. This text was itself, however, a copy from an older writing, manifestly belonging to the period when Babylon had gained the supremacy over the Sumerian cities of the south, and Marduk, god of Babylon, had become in consequence lord of all the gods. It is a Semitic cosmogony. We have also, however, fragments of Sumerian cosmogonies, in one of which Enlil, of Nippur, and in another Ea, of Eridu, plays the rôle of creator and victor over Chaos, here played by Marduk of Babylon. It is worthy of note that Chaos is threefold in the cosmogony of the seven tablets, really personified in two others, besides Tiamat himself. These were her creatures or her offspring. Apparently this is the result of a combination or conflation of cosmogonies from different sources. We have also an old cosmogony from Ashur, resembling in certain particulars the account of the preparation of the earth contained in Gen. 2, and we have other fragments of cosmogonies contained in various liturgies of different periods. Perhaps we may regard the cosmogony of the seven tablets, the *enuma-eliš* tablets, as they are called, as the official cosmogony of the

priests or schoolmen of Babylon, part of an attempt to formulate and officially promulgate a religion of Marduk, somewhere about the time of Hammurapi, a little before 2000 B. C., the period when Babylon became the capital of a great empire, and the cult centre of a greater Semitic civilization extending from the Persian mountains to the Mediterranean Sea, and from central Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, combining, in one whole, Sumerian and Akkadian, *i. e.*, Semitic, elements.

The cosmogony of the Seven Days, contained in Gen. 1, may be regarded similarly as the official cosmogony of the Hebrew schoolmen, their final development of this same cosmogony in their post-exilic period. We can trace some of the steps of this development in the 104th Psalm and in Deutero-Isaiah. This Hebrew cosmogony in its final development, while unmistakably basing on the ancient mythology, has developed out of it a monotheistic, spiritual conception, which we regard no longer as mythology, but as theology. The differences are greater than the resemblances; the latter are in the material concept of the universe, the former in the concept of God and his relation to that universe.

But the cosmogony of Gen. 1 is not the only Hebrew cosmogony showing kinship with the Babylonian cosmogony of the seven tablets. We have various fragments of popular cosmogony appearing in Psalms, Prophets, and Wisdom which show cruder and more material resemblances to the Babylonian. In Psalm 89, a liturgy from the temple of Dan of the eighth

century or earlier, Yahaweh not only defeats Rahab, here the leader of the anti-divine hosts, as Marduk defeated Tiamtu, but treats its carcass as carrion, just as Marduk insulted the corpse of Tiamtu. In a Psalm from the temple at Bethel (74) we have, as in the Babylonian cosmogony, the threefold representation of defeated Chaos, one of whose names is here Leviathan, and the same contumelious treatment of the defeated foe as in the Babylonian myth. In Job 27 the heavens are made as in the Babylonian myth, and the threefold Chaos is called the Sea, Rahab, and the Fleeing Serpent. In Isaiah 27 the threefold chaotic foe which Yahaweh, like Marduk, smites, is called Leviathan the Fleeing Serpent, Leviathan the Coiled Serpent, and the Dragon in the Sea; while in Isaiah 51 it is Rahab, the Dragon, and Tehom. The names differ, but everywhere it is the same old story of the battle between God and his hosts and the Dragon and his hosts, especially his two great chiefs, with the slaughter of the Dragon and the contumelious treatment of his carcass, which is split in half and out of half the firmament of heaven made with its bolts and bars and pillars. The other monsters, which in Gen. 1 are hidden in the seas, reappear in the Apocalypses, beginning with Daniel. In their eschatologies, or visions of the last days, which reflect the cosmogonies, or visions of the first days, these monsters are let loose from their pits and abysses to work destruction as at the beginning. So, in the book of Revelation, with its wonderful mystical picture of God's purpose with the world, we go back to the ancient monsters of prime-

val chaos and their struggle with the gods to obtain our picture of Jesus' triumph over Satan, and the new creation.

But it was not only the Hebrews whose cosmogony thus coincided with the Babylonian. In the fragments of Phœnician cosmogonies, which have been handed down through Greek sources, we find the same thing, with local variations and developments. Here the Babylonian Tiamtu (Hebrew Tehom) is Tauthe, while Bohu is Baau. Evidently this cosmogonic myth was common good of the west land.

The history of the origin and development of the cosmogony of Gen. 1 seems, then, to have been as follows: The early Sumerian peoples of southern Babylonia developed in their different centres story-hymns of the creation of the world, colored by the local and climatic conditions of their land and their religion, of which those of Nippur and Eridu were most important. Semitic peoples, pouring down from north and west, adopted the Sumerian myths and religion, including their cosmogonies, adapting them to their own religion, combining Semitic elements with Sumerian. For the cosmogony this was done officially by the schoolmen of Babylon, when Babylon was the culture centre of western Asia, and, with local variations and adaptations, this cosmogony of Babylon became the cosmogony of the west land, *i. e.*, of Syria and Palestine. This the Hebrews, of kindred stock, adopted, as they adopted the language of the country, adapting it to their religion; and as that religion became more and more spiritual, unfolding finally after

the Exile into a complete and exalted monotheism, this cosmogony was developed out of its grossness, its crudity, and its low polytheism into that magnificent picture with which the Bible opens, of one spiritual God, creating the world by his word.

It is wonderful how out of the puerile, gross fancies of the primitive times, those which appear in the myths and legends of kindred peoples, the Hebrew thinkers developed so sane, so lofty, so spiritual a system of cosmogony and of theology. This is the glory of the Bible. I love to hunt out the ancient sources, to trace them down, to see what they are, and then, as it were, to discern the Spirit of God moving in them, for it was out of gross sensuality that a beautiful spirituality developed; out of crude materialism or the crassest anthropomorphism, a lofty ethical monotheism. It is as when one sees God's power working in natural life: out of the vile ordure of some bog bringing forth a plant whose flower is the most graceful, ethereal, spiritual thing that you will find in all nature.

The third chapter of Genesis, the story of the temptation, is one of the most fascinating in its suggestions and connections in this whole volume of the book of Genesis. Old cylinders discovered in Babylonia and Assyria show us pictures of the tree and a serpent standing on its tail by the side of the tree. We have other strange pictures of genii with satchels in their hands, standing by the tree and holding out toward it some object, apparently for the artificial fertilization of the tree.

It seems to be generally agreed that we have, in

the Babylonian inscriptions, the equivalent of the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, of which man did not eat. This is contained in a Babylonian inscription found, oddly enough, in Egypt, in Tel el-Amarna. It is the story of Adapa, and seems to have been used by the scribes of the Egyptian foreign office for use in studying the Babylonian script and language. Adapa was a mighty man of Eridu, the old Sumerian city of the extreme south, who fished for Eridu. One day the Southwind capsized him and made him sink to the fishes, whereupon in his wrath he broke the Southwind's wing, and for seven days it could not blow. So Anu, lord of heaven, sent word to Ea, god of Eridu, to bring Adapa to his presence. Ea, afraid of a rival, warned Adapa not to eat of any food or drink which might be offered him there, he also clothed him in a mourning garment and gave him other treacherous advice. The result was that Adapa refused the food of life and the water of life which Anu would have given him to eat and drink, and thus failed of the immortality the god would fain have bestowed upon him.

This story relates, however, if at all, only to that tree of life of which Adam did not eat, but of which God[1] was afraid that, having acquired knowledge to procreate his kind, he might also eat and acquire immortality for himself and his descendants, becoming rival to divinity. The tree of life in the Hebrew story seems irrelevant and extraneous in its present form,

[1] Or gods. It is a very primitive and anthropomorphic story, and at times one hardly knows whether it is God or gods of which he is reading.

as though we had part of another story imbedded in the story of the temptation. In the Babylonian story of Adapa, on the other hand, there is nothing of the tree of knowledge, or of the serpent and the temptation which are the real substance of the Hebrew story.

In latter years Babylonian scholars have succeeded, after a fashion, in translating some of the very old records discovered particularly at Nippur by the Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Several of these have been announced as descriptions of a Babylonian Garden of Eden, more or less parallel to the Hebrew account. In point of fact, they are liturgies[1] connected with an ancient lascivious cult, of the existence of which both in Babylonia and Canaan we have been finding increasing evidence from the excavations in those regions. In these old liturgies the serpent is identified with the goddess. She is the river which as a serpent winds down to fertilize the land. The god is connected with the great terraces and towers and walls of the temples. Thence he looks down and sees the serpent goddess and is enticed, and so the land is fertilized. Such liturgies were sung in connection with the obscene ritual of the cult of fructification, which was regarded as a birth of the fruits of the ground from the cohabitation of god and goddess. It was that old worship of the wonderful and mysterious source of life. Now, when one turns to the

[1] The well-known Babylonian poem of "The Descent of Ishtar into Hades" is also a liturgy, and perhaps likewise the creation story and other similar writings.

Hebrew story of Eden and the fall of man, one sees at once that it is a sex story, but whereas in the Babylonian the sex relation is almost deified and is exalted into a licentious cult, the Hebrew reacts into an almost ascetic relation to sex, as a consequence of that lascivious and obscene cult which had developed in connection with this worship of the principle of life. It is when Adam and Eve are brought into union with one another that their understanding is awakened to know sin, and misery is brought into a hitherto happy, carefree world. When one studies the Israelite prophets and sees the conditions with which they were confronted in Canaan, how men and women inflamed their lust "under every green tree," he will understand why and how the moral sense of the religious leaders revolted against the old mythology in this regard. With our present knowledge we can perceive the elements of connection between the Hebrew and Babylonian Edens, but even more striking than in the case of the creation story are the differences between the two accounts.

In the fourth and fifth chapters of Genesis we have two lists of antediluvian heroes, who lived each for centuries. Both commence with Adam and end, the one with Lamech, the father of Noah, and the other with Noah. The one contains seven, or, adding Noah, eight names, the other ten. The former gives us stories or incidents in connection with some of the names, the latter, or longer list, is a mere skeleton of names. The former is folk-story, the latter scribal genealogy. Comparison shows that they are in origin the same, the apparently divergent names, Cain-

Cainan, Methushael-Methuselah, Irad-Jared, etc., being only variants of the same names. The history of Berossus, a Babylonian priest postdating Alexander the Great, fragments of which in the Greek have come down to us, has preserved for us a similar list of ten primeval kings of Babylon who ruled for æons and whose names our present knowledge of the Babylonian language enables us to equate with those of the Hebrew lists of antediluvian heroes; the equated names appearing, however, in forms which show that the ten heroes became common good of the Hebrew ancestors and of the Babylonians at a very early period. More recently there have been discovered among the old Sumerian texts from Nippur documents similar to those from which the lists contained in Berossus must ultimately have derived.[1] Placing the three lists side by side, we are able to see how these ten names, with certain notes concerning the deeds of their bearers, were translated from the Sumerian into the Babylonian Semitic tongue, and from that again transferred into Hebrew at a very early period, so early that the meaning of some of the names is not evident from classical Hebrew.

So Amelon, a Greek corruption in Berossus's list, third name, for the Babylonian *Amelu*, man, equates with the Hebrew *Enos*, which may be described as archaic Hebrew for man. The fourth name, Ammenon, of Berossus, is clearly the Babylonian *Ummanu*,

[1] See Geo. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, Part D, chapter V. He was the first to discover the relation of these Sumerian lists to those of Berossus.

artificer. This equates with Cainan and Cain of the two Hebrew lists, which are the same name in variant forms. Neither Cain nor Cainan are in classical Hebrew true words with a meaning, but the Aramæan furnishes us with a word *cainai*, smith, identical in root and sound, which is in meaning the equivalent of the Babylonian *ummanu*. The seventh name of Berossus's list is Edorachus or Enedorankos, the Babylonian-Sumerian *En-me-dur-an-ki*, "interpreter of heaven and earth," of whom we are informed in Babylonian inscriptions as the holy priest of Sippara, the city of the Sun, and to whom was ascribed the origin of the guild of soothsayers, the interpreters of oracles and signs. To this corresponds Enoch of the Hebrew, *i. e.*, the *anki* of *En-me-dur-an-ki*, the former part of the long name being omitted (as in the Hebrew name Ahaz for Jehoahaz), the holy man, who "walked with God and he was not; for God took him" (Gen. 5:24). This man of Sippara, city of the Sun, is followed by Amempsinos, evidently the Babylonian *Amel-Sin*, man of Sin, the Moon-god. This equates with the Hebrew Methusha-el or Methuselah, which means *male* or *man of God*. The last name of Berossus's list, Xisuthros, is the Ut-napishtim of the cuneiform inscriptions, the hero of the Flood. But Ut-napishtim may apparently be read also Nuh-napishtim, which is the Hebrew Noah, by the simple omission of the last element of the name. In similar fashion the Hebrew Seth stands for the Babylonian Shithu-Elu, by omission of the divine suffix *elu* or *ilu*.[1]

[1] For the other names in these lists, see Barton.

In these lists of antediluvian heroes, some of whom were also gods, Babylonian and Hebrew alike, we have civilization stories, attempts to account for the growth and development of civilization, the commencement of city building, the division of men into settler and nomad, the origin of musicians, metal workers, soothsayers, and interpreters of the oracles of God. In both is found a similar free treatment of names. Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian appear side by side in the one, and in the other classical Hebrew and archaic or Aramæan forms. Evidently in origin these creation legends were very early, going back in Babylonia to the primitive Sumerian civilization; and also they early became common good of the Semitic world, and so a heritage of the Hebrews from their forefathers, purified, monotheized, and spiritualized, like all similar material. Ultimately they were incorporated in Genesis in two forms, the less complete but more discursive and more human folk-lore form in the fourth chapter of Genesis, and the schematically more complete list, of names and years only, contained in the fifth chapter.

Of the intercourse of gods and men, the resulting wickedness of man, and of the Flood I have already spoken, and because the Hebrew and Babylonian parallels for the latter are so well known, I do not propose to dwell upon this further. Only here, as bear[illegible]ic Hebr[illegible] question of the Arabian origin of the ancest[illegible] of Beros[illegible] the northern Semites, I would note that Arabic [illegible]gend and folk-lore have no allusion to the Flood myth, which plays so large a part in the mythology of the northern Semites, connecting itself, as al-

ready pointed out, with the region of Armenia. And the same is true in general of Babylonian and Hebrew mythology and folk-lore—they show connections with the north, but never with Arabia.

I am not trying to give an exhaustive account of the sources of all the myths and stories contained in the eleven chapters of the first volume of Genesis, but am more particularly noting those things which I have myself found or observed, or which have become especially my own through study and observation. Let me skip, therefore, to the last chapter of this first volume of Genesis, to try to point out there an instance of a connection of another sort of early Hebrew story with Babylonia. In the eleventh chapter of Genesis we are told that the whole earth was "of one language and of one speech," or, to use the literal picturesqueness of the Hebrew, "of one lip and one word; and it came to pass, as they journeyed east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar (*i. e.*, Sumeria or Babylonia); and they dwelt there." Here we have the same connection, noted in the first lecture, of the ancestors of the Hebrews with the Aramæan folk of the country of that farther east. In the Assyrian inscriptions, as already pointed out, we find the Aramæans for long centuries drifting downward from Armenia into Assyria and Babylonia. We find them settled on the western slopes of the Persian mountains, the Assyrians and Babylonians occupying the plain country. From these mountain settlements they continually made inroads on the inhabited and cultivated territory, the great Sumerian plain, and the Assyrians and Baby-

lonians were constantly engaged in conducting punitive expeditions against them. The Aramæan tradition represented in the Hebrew story connects their ancestors with those lands. This story also reveals to him who reads a close connection with Babylonia, and yet, as I think you will see in a moment, it is not derived from Babylonia, it is not a story of the Babylonians, but of outsiders who knew that country and were profoundly affected by its monuments.

We are told that the people on the Babylonian plain learned to make bricks and that they had bitumen for mortar. Those are striking peculiarities of the Babylonian region. Then, further, these people say to one another: "Come, let us build a city and a tower, its top unto heaven. Let us make a nation; that we may not be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." This is a picture of the development, as the ruder Aramæans saw it, of that Babylonian civilization where men, ceasing to be nomads, built cities and towers. As for the towers, those were one of the most characteristic features of the great Babylonian cities and temples. We have discovered a number of them, square pyramids, built step-like, the highest seven stories; in the more common form, three stories in height. It was not every temple which had one of these towers, *ziggurats*, or pinnacles, as they were called, but there were enough of them to be in striking evidence all over the Babylonian plain, and their remains still stand, visible oftentimes almost a day's journey away, great masses of unburned brick, as a rule. The Hebrew story goes on to tell how the Lord came down

to see the cities and towers which the children of men were building, and, after that old fashion which we find in almost all the old mythologies, God was jealous of men and more or less fearful of what they might do if they learned the secrets of divine power, and he says: "Behold, they are one people and they all have one language, and this is what they begin to do: and now nothing will be withholden from them which they purpose to do. Come, let us go down and confound their language that they may not understand one another's speech." So they were unable to continue their building and were scattered abroad. And then the story goes on to tell that the name of that place in which the Lord confounded their language and scattered them was "called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of the earth." Here we have one of those characteristic folk etymologies, a play upon words, by which Babel is made in punning fashion to mean confusion. In Babylonian, Babel, our Babylon, really meant Gate of God.

Babylon from about 2200 B. C. was the emporium and centre of religious life, of culture and of civilization for the whole of western Asia. It was a place where many races and many languages met, as confusing in its day as New York, Chicago, or Constantinople are in ours, a place where you could hear every known tongue. You would find there colonies of all sorts of people, just as you do in New York and Chicago to-day, so that in one place you would hear

only Elamite spoken, in another perhaps the old Sumerian tongue, which the priests were using in the temples as the church language, precisely as the Roman Church uses Latin to-day. I suppose you could have found quarters where Aramaic was spoken, quarters where Hittite was spoken, and much more. There was a confusion of tongues, and any one who has lived in New York or Chicago realizes the difficulties and general confusion growing out of this, and the resulting inefficiency and incompetency in certain directions, with their manifold perplexities.

But what was this tower? The inclination has been to suppose that it was that great mass of unburned brick in Babylon itself which is known to-day as Babel; but that was never a ziggurat. Now, about eight miles south of Babylon, on the west side of the Euphrates—Babylon itself was astride the river—was the city of Borsippa, a sister city, ultimately almost a suburb, of Babylon. They lie so close together that the ordinary observer to-day almost inevitably confuses them; and they were most closely associated in the ancient time. In Babylon stood the great temple of Marduk, known as Esagila. In Borsippa stood the great temple of Nebo, known as Ezida. Apparently Borsippa was the older, and at the New Year's feast the procession went first to Borsippa, whence it returned, bringing the gods of Borsippa to pay homage to Marduk in his temple in Babylon, precisely as in Naples at the feast of Saint Januarius all the saints of all the other churches go in solemn procession, the monks bearing life-size silver images of their saints, fifty or more in number, to the

Church of Santa Chiara. There these saints in the form of their silver statues make obeisance before the image of Santa Chiara at her altar, and are then carried out into the courtyard to spend the night as her guests. Only Saint Januarius, who comes in last, takes his position by Santa Chiara on her altar; and then takes place that marvellous ceremonial of the liquefaction of the blood of Saint Januarius. The following day the great procession returns, with Saint Januarius and Santa Chiara together at the rear, to the Cathedral, Saint Januarius's church, where the festival of the liquefaction continues for a week. This is because the worship of Santa Chiara is the older of the two.

Now, the most striking ruin in all Babylonia at the present day is the ziggurat, or stage tower of this temple of Nebo at Borsippa. In the form in which it has come down to us this is a construction of the great Nebuchadrezzar. Unlike the ordinary ziggurat with which we are familiar, every stage of this was faced with kiln-burned bricks laid in bitumen, the core of the structure consisting of sun-dried bricks. How so solid a mass was destroyed, we do not know. It looks to-day as though it had been blasted by a stroke from the lightning of God. Whatever the catastrophe was which destroyed it, the bricks which faced this tower, which were glazed, each stage having a different color, were run into one whole at that catastrophe, the glaze fusing the bricks together, so that they constitute to-day one great mass, split and riven above, as though by a thunder-bolt, but so solid that only blasting can

disintegrate it. We have Nebuchadrezzar's own account of how he happened to repair and rebuild this ziggurat, and from that account we learn that long before his day it was the most conspicuous monument of all that region, and also that, enormous as it was when he found it, it was a work only partly completed, which had been begun and never finished. Here is part of that account, contained in the clay cylinders which he placed as foundation documents in the corners of this ziggurat when he rebuilt it. First he tells how Marduk guided him to repair this monument of his cousin god, Nebo, how, "At that time the house of the seven divisions of heaven and earth," which, I suppose, refers to the seven stages of the tower of the temple, "the ziggurat of Borsippa, which a former king had built and carried up to the height of forty-two yards, but the summit of which he had not erected, was long since fallen into decay." The conduits, which should have carried off the water, "had become useless; rain-storms and tempests had penetrated its unbaked brickwork; the bricks which cased it were bulged out; the unbaked bricks," which constituted the core, "were converted into rubbish heaps." This was the condition of this monument, a very old one, even the name of the builder of which had been forgotten, which Marduk moved Nebuchadrezzar's heart to rebuild. He built it of the same size, he did not change its place or its foundation. He built it "as in former times," that is, he carried out the original plan to make it an enormous ziggurat, overtopping everything else, and he raised it to the height which had been planned. It

was that mysterious and wonderful ruin of a hoar antiquity, which long antedated Nebuchadrezzar, looking as though man had sought to climb up to heaven by its steps, and which had never been completed, which gave rise to the idea of the interference of God. There is the physical original of the story of the tower of Babel. There is also the testimony to the ancient belief that Babylon was the centre from which the civilization of western Asia took its origin.

And now let me take up one thing in the second volume of this book, in the story of Abram, or, as we more commonly call him, Abraham.[1] That is a name of the same form which we find in the Babylonian records of the period about 2200 B. C. in Babylonia. We find there, also, the names Jacob and Joseph, sometimes with the divine name added, Jacob-el and Joseph-el, and sometimes without. About 2500 B. C., or a little after that, there seems to have been a great pouring in of peoples from the west, the land which the Babylonians always called Amurru, or west land, whom we meet in the Bible as Amorites. They were a Semitic people, differing from the Aramæans, to whom the Hebrews belonged, as the French differ from the Italians or from the Spanish, all going back in their language to the same Latin stock, but speaking tongues differently modified out of the Latin. The Amorites and the Aramæans spoke Semitic tongues, but variant one from another. Those were the days before the Aramæans had appeared on the scene. They were still in their ancient homeland to the north-

[1] This name also occurs in these two forms in Babylonian.

ward. I suggested in my last lecture, from the appearance in Egyptian inscriptions of the names Jacob-el and Joseph-el as inhabitants of Canaan, that the Egyptians had found similar Amorite Semitic peoples inhabiting central Palestine, whose traditions later the Hebrews, occupying the land, took over with their old shrines; exactly the same sort of thing that took place when Christianity conquered heathen Europe. Now in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis we have a most perplexing story. It is different as a piece of writing from anything about it, as though the author of Genesis had derived the record of this story from a source different from that from which he drew the other records or stories of this volume. It tells of Abram in Palestine, at Hebron, and of Lot in the Jordan valley, who, as we know from the Egyptian inscriptions, was the earlier population of that land, as of the land later occupied by the Moabites and Ammonites, who hence came to be called the children of Lot. It tells further about the invasion of that country by a certain Elamite king named Chedorlaomar, which is a perfectly good Elamite name, although we have not yet certainly identified such a king. It tells us of strange ancient peoples who were in Canaan at that time, of whose existence we have learned in later days through excavations, and it tells us that what is here narrated took place in the days of Amraphel, King of Shinar, which we call, from Babylonian records, Sumer or Sumeria. Now we know this Amraphel. He was the great king of Babylon, who a little before 2000 B. C. made Babylon the capital of all Babylonia or

Sumeria, and established a mighty empire. He was the founder of the greatness of Babylonia, and in relation to the Babylonian empire he played very much the same part which Alfred the Great did in making England a nation. In the capital of Elam there was discovered, nineteen years ago, a vast stele or monument, erected originally by this same Amraphel, or, to give him his Babylonian name, Hammurapi, containing the code of laws which he ordained and published for his country. As Moses is represented in the Bible as receiving the law for Israel from God, so on this stele Hammurapi is represented as receiving these laws from the Sun-god, who in Egypt and Babylonia, and we might say in general, was the god of law.

These laws of Hammurapi are frequently represented as the original of the Hebrew laws, or at least of that earliest code of Hebrew laws which we find in Exodus, chapters 20–23. Let me briefly analyze Hammurapi's code. It is headed by five laws dealing with the administration of justice. In these we find the same general principle which we find in the Hebrew laws, that if any man bring an accusation against another and it turn out to be false, he is to suffer the punishment which he attempted to inflict upon the other. There are two things to which we have no parallel in the Hebrew laws; one is the test or ordeal, in this case by water.[1] The accused may prove his innocence by casting himself into the God River. If he sink, it is proof that he is guilty, if he escape, he is innocent, and

[1] In Hebrew the ordeal appears only in the case of a wife suspected by her husband of adultery (Num. 5).

the code ends with the provision that if a judge through bribery, or wilful malice—his own fault, the code says—give a decision contrary to the facts, he shall, on the reversal of that decision, pay twelve times the fine levied by him, be removed from the bench, and be ineligible for further judicial service.

Then follows a series of laws, 6–25, dealing with theft, direct or constructive. They are more humane than the corresponding Hebrew laws, substituting fine or lesser amputation where the Hebrew prescribes the death penalty. Only in the case of offenses against the higher classes, especially against temple or palace officers, the punishment is death. These laws reveal a condition of society very different from that which the Hebrew laws show, both in the development of classes of society and also in the picture they give of trade, of the stability of institutions and the like, and especially in the development of slavery, about one-half of the laws covering theft dealing with slavery. As illustrative of stability of institutions and of extended commercial relations, the person accused is allowed six months in which to get witnesses. The evidence of extended commercial relations contained in these laws is confirmed also by the records contained in Babylonian tablets of the same period, where, for instance, an owner who rents a cart provides that that cart is not to be used for driving from Babylonia to the Mediterranean Sea. In case of highway robbery the laws of Hammurapi lay the burden of restitution on the community in which the robbery occurred, with a further penalty in case of loss of life in connection with the robbery.

The next series of laws, 26–49, shows us certain peculiar social conditions growing out of military exigencies. It deals with the people to whom royal grants of land, houses, and the like were made, in return for, or in connection with, which they are bound to render a feudal service, which service could not be deputed. We have nothing in the slightest degree resembling this in the Hebrew laws, except only that in later Hebrew legislation there is provision made for the inalienability of lands, for the purpose of preserving an owner, not a tenant, proprietorship, but that is a late development. In Babylon, about 2000 B. C., we find this inalienability prescribed for a different purpose, in connection with these feudal grants, the inalienability including, with the tenant, his cattle and sheep, as well as the land, so that, for instance, if a feudal tenant were captured by the enemy and had no money to pay for the ransom, the temple of his town must pay it for him, or, failing that, the central or royal power.

Then follows a series of laws concerning tillage of the ground, 42–65, reflecting the peculiar conditions of a country dependent upon the irrigation of the land, rather than the watering of the land from heaven. Also the developed condition of civilization in Babylonia is shown by the provisions for loans to farmers on the security of their fields, for a tenant receiving his share of the improvements in the case of redemption of waste lands, and the like. The closing portion of this series of laws was erased by the Elamite conqueror who set the stele up in Susa, as also the commencement of the following series of laws dealing with

mercantile transactions. The Elamite king had intended to inscribe his name on the spot thus made bare, but failed to do so, and we do not know, therefore, who it was that plundered Babylon and carried off this stele.

Of the laws dealing with mercantile transactions only eight are left, 100–107, and here again we find a development far in advance of that represented anywhere in Hebrew law. Provision is made for goods intrusted to merchants to buy and sell in other towns or countries, a commission business, and it is further provided that receipts shall be given and taken; and if a person did not give or receive such a document written on a clay tablet, his claim for the return of goods or moneys alleged to be intrusted to another should be invalid.

The next section, 108–111, deals with tavern-keepers, and to this we shall return in a moment. Then follows a series of laws, 112–126, vastly in advance of the civilization represented in Palestine at any period covered by the codes of laws contained in the Pentateuch. These are the laws dealing with banks and safe-deposit or storage companies.

The longest series of laws, 127–195, deals with family relations, both marital and filial. In one regard, certainly, the position of woman is higher than in the Hebrew codes. She has property rights, separate from her husband, and if she can show maltreatment or desertion by him, she may secure a divorce. Highly advanced is the law that provides that if a man's wife becomes diseased he may not put her away, and although he may take in that case another wife, he

must provide for the sick woman in his own house and support her as long as she lives. Accused of infidelity, a woman may claim the ordeal of water mentioned above. A false charge of infidelity against a woman is punished most severely. If in these regards a woman stands higher and is better protected than in Hebrew law, on the other hand, we find in this section laws about women dedicated to the service of the gods, a practice which, although actually existing in Israel until the Reformation under King Josiah in Judah in 624 B. C., was never legalized or recognized, so far as we can judge by the Hebrew codes of laws which have come down to us.

Then follows the section dealing with crimes of violence, 196–214, a development of the *lex talionis*, the fundamental principle of which is common not only to Babylonia and to the Hebrews, but practically to all the world, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, burning for burning, wound for wound, stroke for stroke. But here we notice a greater development of classes among the Babylonians, and more exceptions to the rule consequent upon difference of station. The laws governing the practice of medicine, or perhaps rather surgery, including not only the surgeon, but also the veterinary and barber, who, among other things, branded slaves, follow as a sort of development of the *lex talionis*. So, in the laws of surgery, 215–223, there is a fixed price for certain operations and treatments, but, on the other hand, if a physician kill a free man, or put out his eye in treating him, his hands are to be cut off; and somewhat similarly, the

veterinary is to be punished in case of injury to the animals he treats, 224–225. So likewise the barber, 226–227, shall have his hand amputated in case of false branding, which is a species of manstealing. The laws covering building operations also, 228–233, are particularly concerned with the punishment to fall upon the builder in case the house he builds be badly built, the punishment being greater or less, according to the damage done, from the death of the builder down to compensation or repair. The ship-builder is treated in the same way, 234–235. Here we have also a regulation of prices, and indeed in all sections provisions are made determining the prices of services rendered, from doctors, builders, and contractors down to the commonest laborers.

After the laws governing ship-builders came those dealing with the management of boats, the responsibility of sailors in case of wreck, etc., 236–240, and then, 241–246, laws covering the hire and treatment of oxen and asses. These laws, while very different in other regards, and much more advanced than the Hebrew laws, give evidence, like the latter, of the existence in those days of dangerous wild beasts, especially lions. The provisions covering the case of the goring ox are practically the same as in ancient Hebrew law, Ex. 21 : 28–32. In these laws, again, we have the provision of community responsibility, that in certain cases the community must make good theft or fraud or failure to fulfil a contract by one of its members.

Then comes the series of laws, 247–277, regulating the wages of laborers and labor instruments of various de-

scriptions, including the water-wheels and the systems for irrigating the land. Tillage of the ground and herding of cattle play in the Babylonia of that day a prominent part, and next to them comes navigation. Farmhands, herdsmen, and sailors are the principal laborers; all other workmen are included under one law, 274, which fixes the wages of the potter, tailor, carpenter, rope-maker, and mason.

The concluding section of laws, 278–282, deals with slave-trade. Then follows an epilogue in which Hammurapi endeavors to give sanction to his laws by all the powers of religion and superstition. Every possible curse is to be visited on any one whosoever then, or in time to come, should change or interfere with these laws or their execution, precisely the same thing which we find at the end of the codes in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

There are two laws or series of laws in this code which threw a very interesting light on passages in the Bible, laws which have, however, no correspondents or analogies in the Hebrew codes whatever. Law 146 reads: "If a man take a wife and she give a maid servant to her husband and that maid servant bear children and afterward would take rank with her mistress because she has borne children, her mistress may not sell her for money, but she may reduce her to bondage and count her among the maid servants." Now, this was precisely what happened in the case of Sarah and Hagar. Sarah, being childless, gave her maid, Hagar, to Abraham, we are told in the sixteenth chapter of Genesis, and when Hagar saw that she had conceived, her mis-

tress was despised in her eyes. Sarah makes complaint to Abraham of the wrong done her and calls the Lord as judge between him and her, whereupon Abraham surrenders Hagar to her to do as she pleases. Hagar is again a bondwoman in the hand of her mistress. This does not mean that in this particular case Babyonian legislation directly affected Hebrew practice, but of that later.

The other Bible passage which receives elucidation from the Hammurapi code is the story of the Hebrew spies who lodged with Rahab at Jericho. In Joshua 2 : 1, we read: "And they went and came into the harlot's house and lodged there." There is in this account, as ordinarily interpreted, something peculiarly shocking to us. That the spies on a sacred and warlike mission, having the burden of that great responsibility on their shoulders, should take the opportunity to go to the house of a harlot in Jericho seems to reflect on the moral character of Hebrew leadership in that day. Turning to the code of Hammurapi, we find in the laws, 108–111, dealing with wine sellers or tavern keepers, that the gender of the wine seller or tavern-keeper is always feminine. The trade was in the hands of women. It is also evident from these laws that the places where wine was sold were lodging-houses for the traveller. The wine seller was the inn or tavern-keeper, and one of these words really best conveys the sense of the Babylonian *wine seller*. It is further evident from the terms of this legislation that outlaws and bad characters were apt to collect in these taverns, that they were places of doubtful repute; so a priestess

was forbidden to enter a tavern or to become the mistress of a tavern. This throws light on the character of the place to which the spies went in Jericho and on the position of Rahab. They went to the tavern because it was the only place to which one could go, unless one became, through courtesy, the guest of a resident of the town. Rahab was the keeper of the tavern, and perhaps the better rendering of the passage in Joshua 2 : 1 would be: "And they went and came to an inn and lodged there"; and Rahab should be called Rahab the tavern-keeper, rather than Rahab the harlot. It may be added that we have from Jewish sources corroborative evidence of the disreputable character of the hotel business in Palestine in later ages. Jewish ritual provisions forbade the marriage of a priest with a woman connected with the business of keeping a tavern.

Later discoveries have shown us that this code of Hammurapi, early as it is, dating from before 2000 B. C., had still earlier codes behind it. Hammurapi accomplished in this code precisely what King Alfred of England did in his famous "Dooms." Alfred found in England a variety of dooms or judgments sanctioned by the kings of various localities. These he gathered together "and commanded many of those to be written which our forefathers held, those which to me seemed good; and many of those which seemed to me not good I rejected them, by the Council of my Witan, and in otherwise commanded them to be holden; for I durst not venture to set down in writing much of my own, for it was unknown to me what of it would please those

who came after us. But those things which I met with, either of the days of Ine my kinsman, or of Offa king of the Mercians, or of Æthelbryght, who first among the English race received baptism, those which seemed to me the rightest, those I have gathered together, and rejected the others."

It may be added that King Alfred began his dooms with a somewhat free revision of the ten commandments of Moses, followed by an equally free revision of the early legislation contained in the following chapters of Exodus, 20–23. Hammurapi, precisely in the same way, gathered together in a code ancient laws of different dates and sources, adapted them to present conditions, with necessary modifications, and then organized the whole systematically into a code. This code was inscribed on stelæ[1] which were set up in various places in the land. Now this code dates from a time when Babylonian armies overran Syria and Palestine and the kings and peoples of countries from the Persian mountains to the Mediterranean Sea rendered allegiance to a Babylonian suzerain. There was, at that time, a general conformity of civilization throughout that entire region, the myths and legends, magic and demonology, the religious worship, the weights and measures, the divisions of time and the like, were largely the same in Babylonia and in Palestine. Later the dynasty of Hammurapi fell before the people of the sea country and the Cassites, the Mitannians established themselves in Mesopotamia and the Hittites in

[1] *Cf.* the erection by the Hebrews of laws on pillars at Shechem, Deut. 27.

central and western Asia Minor, and for a time communication between east and west was almost cut off. Then Egypt overran Syria and Palestine and included them in a mighty empire. Then began that period of universal disturbance with which I dealt in part in my first lecture, when the Hittites pressed down into Syria from Asia Minor, the Philistines, Sardinians, and other foreigners from the northern coasts and islands of the Mediterranean descended on the coast lands, and the Aramæans from the northeast on the hinterland, bringing chaos and confusion in the whole west land. Nevertheless, certain basic ideas and principles of the earlier civilization remained unchanged. The language of ordinary use was still Semitic of the Amorite stock, the old Babylonian script continued in use, with the Babylonian practice of writing on clay tablets, and with these went the old religion, the old cult, and the general principles of the old jurisprudence. These were the conditions that the Hebrews found when they entered Palestine. They found the relics of the old Babylonian civilization. With the fundamental principles of the laws which lay back of Hammurapi's code, in part at least, they were naturally sympathetic. Those were the ancestral fundamental principles of the northern Semites, which the Aramæans shared with the Amorites and Babylonians.[1] Those old principles of law had, however, to be developed to conform to their new life as inhabitants of cities and as agriculturists in Canaan. They must have taken

[1] Note that an Assyrian code of laws from about 1500 B. C. was discovered in Ashur by the German excavators.

over from the Canaanite inhabitants many of their laws, precisely as they took over their sacred sites and religious practices, but the laws which had been developed in Canaan, while having a general relation to the laws of Hammurapi's code, could never have been identical with those laws. The conditions of life in the two regions were very different, and even had they been the same, the Hebrews, with their own different customs and traditions, and especially with their different religious institutions, could never have taken over from the Canaanites precisely the laws which they had developed. There is a certain relationship between the laws of Hammurapi and the laws of the Hebrew codes, especially of the earlier ones in Ex. 20–23 (but to some extent also the codes of Deuteronomy and Leviticus), but that connection is an indirect one. It is not a case of borrowing from the laws of Hammurapi, but a case of the possession and inheritance of a civilization and of ideas and constitutions similar in their fundamentals to the civilization and the cult of Babylonia.

## III

## HISTORY AND PROPHECY

I CLOSED my first lecture with some reference to the chaos, the Dark Ages which overwhelmed the ancient civilization in the thirteenth and following centuries, very much as in the Dark Ages of the post-Christian period the barbarian hordes overwhelmed Roman and Greek civilization and overthrew those empires. It is not until the close of the eleventh century that the veil really begins to lift. The Bible gives us, in the books of Joshua and Judges, the story of the struggle for the mastery and possession of Palestine between Hebrews, Canaanites, and Philistines, but we learn nothing of, or from, the outside world. Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian inscriptions tell us from this period practically nothing of Canaan and of the Israelites. There is a curious little travel story, or it may be the report of an Egyptian official who visited Canaan and the Phœnician coast land, somewhere about the middle of the period of the Judges. According to this story Egypt, at that time, still made a shadowy claim to the sovereignty of the land. The city of Dor, on the coast just south of Mount Carmel, belonged to one of the peoples against whom we found Ramses III fighting, kindred to the Philistines. The Philistines are clearly at that time a much more civilized people than

the Hebrews. Being better organized also, they pressed in from the coast land, gradually dominating the Hebrews, who were, although superior in numbers, less well equipped and organized. The result of the struggle, however, was that the disunited Hebrews were welded together and, finding at last an heroic leader, a natural military genius and organizer, David, they became a real nation and established a great kingdom, levying tribute, as the Egyptians used to do, on all the peoples of Palestine and many of the kings and princes northward, as far as the Euphrates, being on terms of equal alliance only with the Phœnician cities of the coast land.

When the veil lifts, about 1000 B. C., we find an enormous advance in civilization resulting from the great catastrophe. Iron has taken the place of copper. Evidently, those nations which had poured down from the north and overwhelmed the ancient civilizations of Italy, Greece, the Ægean, Asia Minor, Egypt, Canaan, Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia, had been able to do so particularly because of their better armament. It was like Cortez and his little band of Spaniards overwhelming the Mexicans with their guns and horses. The introduction of iron, not merely for purpose of ornament, as heretofore, but for practical use in tools and weapons, marks one of the great stages in the upward movement of civilization in the human race. But not only do we find the use of iron coming out of that chaos and welter of the nations, but also an alphabet. The el-Amarna letters were written in the cuneiform script, a most complicated and awkward

method of writing, from our point of view, although superior to anything then in existence—to the hieroglyphic script of Egypt, to the script of the Hittites, to the script of Crete—as is shown by the fact that it, and it only, was adopted by foreign peoples as a means of writing their own language. When we first find writing after the Dark Ages in the country on the eastern Mediterranean coast, our own alphabetical system, which has continued to this day, had taken the place of that cumbersome script of ideograms and determinatives. This was a still greater step forward in civilization than the use of iron. We find the marks of this change in writing in the Bible. It is at this period that we begin to have written records in the Hebrew. They had now a means of communication, vastly superior to anything heretofore existing, which tempted men to write, as the former system had hindered them from doing. Tradition says that it was with the Phœnicians that this script originated; certainly the earliest records come from that eastern coast land of the Mediterranean, and it is nations immediately about that region which we find first using the fully developed alphabetic script. How it originated, from what one of the previous systems of writing it was derived, we do not know; perhaps from a combination of two or several, because it is from combinations of different civilizations and different uses and ideas that new and better things are ordinarily developed.

It is interesting to trace the parallels between the outcome of those Dark Ages of the pre-Christian world,

and the outcome of the Dark Ages of the post-Christian world. As from the former came iron and the alphabet, so from the latter came gunpowder and the printing-press; but there is another interesting parallel between the two. Out of the post-Christian Dark Ages came the dawn of a new spiritual and creative era. The thirteenth century is looked back to now by many as one of the wonderful centuries of the world's history, because of its development in architecture, as evinced in the cathedrals, and because of that adaptation of the old heathen philosophy to the Christian Scriptures which produced scholastic theology, and was one of the elements that prepared the way for the later advance in religion. So, also, out of the Dark Ages of those pre-Christian centuries came the religion of Israel, basing upon the ancient prophet Moses, just as the scholastic learning based upon Jesus; and as that thirteenth century built cathedrals, which embodied and crystallized, as it were, the Christian religion, so Israel built the great temple at Jerusalem which was destined to play so mighty a part in the upbuilding of the religion of Israel.

But before we turn to the light which archæology throws on that temple, let me say a word about David's kingdom. The Old Testament describes him as a mighty conqueror who established a great empire. Among the peoples tributary to him were the old kindred Hebrew nations of Ammon, Moab, and Edom to the east of the Jordan, Amalek and the other half-nomadic peoples southward to the borders of Egypt, the Philistine cities of the coast land, and, northward,

Aramæan, Amorite, and Hittite states as far as to Aleppo; so that his kingdom is described as extending from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates. This was the greatest extent of Hebrew rule, so vastly beyond anything that came after that it became an ideal which future generations regarded almost as an impossibility, only reached and to be reached by special divine interposition. David and his kingdom became the foundation of what we now call the Messianic hope. Of course, stories grew about what David had been, as they always will about any great hero, by exaggeration and idealization. The result has been that modern historians of the Hebrews, with their tendency to distrust what has come down to us and to make overanxious allowance for possible incorrect statements and exaggerations, have tended to deny the truth of the greatness of David's kingdom. How could this little state of Judah become so mighty? Were there not other great kingdoms in Assyria, in Babylonia, in Egypt, in Syria, or Asia Minor, which would inevitably have prevented such a thing? Now, it is here that the Assyrian and Egyptian records, and the Hittite also, for that matter, come to our help, and show us that the coast was clear for any relatively petty state, under good generaliship, to carve out for itself at that moment an empire. Everything that existed had been destroyed by the great catastrophe of which we have been speaking. Assyria and Babylonia had been, for the time, overwhelmed. They continued to maintain their existence, and ultimately came out of the catastrophe in better shape than Egypt, but such inscrip-

tions as we have from this period show us that they were so busy struggling to hold their own against invading hordes from the north that they could not possibly intervene in regions so far away as Syria and Palestine. And indeed that remained true still for a couple of centuries. Assyrian records do indeed boast of great victories, of defeating Aramæan hordes in the north, but one observes that the Assyrians are continually giving ground, not gaining ground, so that at one period they were even forced to remove their capital back down the Tigris to the ancient site of Ashur. The Hittite empire also had gone to pieces. Smaller Hittite kingdoms had sprung up here and there, but none of any importance. There was no Amorite kingdom of any strength in the west. The Aramæans who were settling themselves in Syria had not established any great state. Damascus was later to come to the front as more than the rival of Israel, but that time had not yet arrived. In the south, Egypt was unable to maintain its own. The Nubians or Ethiopians were conquering it, creating, however, for the present, no stable kingdom. While we have found nowhere any records which mention David or which mention at this period the kingdom of the Hebrews, and, in fact, we have found no inscriptions which would have any occasion to do so, the few records that have come down confirm the Bible story, in so far as they show that conditions were entirely favorable for the accomplishment of that which we are told in the Bible story was accomplished by David.[1]

[1] We are indeed told that the Pharaoh gave Gezer to Solomon as the marriage portion of his daughter, and in Rehoboam's

Inscriptions have, however, given us some interesting information about the Hebrew religion at this period. The name of the God of Judah in latter days was Yahaweh, but in the personal names and the old ritual formulæ in the Bible, the divine name is not Yahaweh, but Yahu (with nominative ending) or Yah, as in Halleluiah (*i. e.* Hallelu-Yah, praise Yah), that old ritual cry of the Hebrews, or in such names as Isaiah, Hezekiah, and the like.

One of the results of the decipherment of the old records which have been dug up in Babylonia is to make us conscious of the great importance of personal names in the study of the history and especially the religion of any people. The names of the gods they worship and to a certain extent their institutions are reflected in the names of kings, priests, and leaders, and by the prevalence of certain names we are able to determine the relationship of peoples and their religions, and to gain some insight into their chronology. Years ago my attention was called to the use of the divine name in Israelite personal names, with a view to determining its origin. I was struck with the fact that the divine name Yah commences to become prominent in David's time. After he set up the Ark in Jerusalem, the divine name Yah becomes the dominating name in Judah, and especially in the royal family. On the other hand, it does not come to the fore among the ten tribes until two hundred years later, in the time of the great prophet Elijah, whose name means "Yah

time the Pharaoh raided and plundered Palestine. This was the reflection of past relations, and a passing attempt of new dynasts to enforce or restore old claims and old conditions.

(or Yahu) is my God." I was also led to suspect, from what I found, that the original form of the divine name was Yahu or Yah. This has been confirmed most curiously in later times. Some years since there were discovered in Jeb, or Elephantine, in Egypt, records, dating from about 400 B. C., of a Jewish military colony which was established there perhaps in the sixth or seventh century before Christ, which had its own temple and which worshipped Yahu. They show us, that is, that the name by which these Jews knew their God was Yahu, not Yahaweh. There have been discovered also various inscriptions in the north of Syria from the kings of certain small states, showing this same form Yahu in composition in the names of kings of Aramæan cities, suggesting that Yahu was a God name known to various Aramæan tribes. It is curious and perhaps significant that in the historical development the name Yahu shows itself first in the tribe of Judah, as already noted, and that we have among these same Aramæan peoples in northern Syria using the divine name Yahu two whose name is practically identical with Judah, namely Jaudi. Indeed, when this name was first found in the Assyrian inscriptions, scholars supposed that it was our Judah. The suggestion is that in some way or another the name Judah (Jehudah) and the old name Yahu (Jehu) of the Divinity were connected; that Yahu, or, without the nominal ending, Yah, was the original name of this Divinity common to the Hebrews with other Aramæan clans; and that the Hebrews ultimately differentiated this divine name, making it unique and peculiar to themselves by add-

ing to it at the end, as a consequence of which the sacred name which has come down to us in the Hebrew Scriptures in separate use is different from that which meets us in personal names and in the inscriptions.

It was not David, but his son, Solomon, as the book of Kings tells us, who erected the temple at Jerusalem. The name used for this temple in the Hebrew is exactly the same word used in the Assyrian and Babylonian records, but that word, E-gal,[1] great house, is not a Semitic word; that is, it does not belong to the language stock of the Hebrews or Phœnicians, or of any of their kindred peoples. It was with the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia that we first learned its origin and its meaning. It is a Sumerian word, or rather two words, meaning great house. That this word compound was taken over into all the north Semitic languages as the name for a certain sort of temple shows the relation of that ancient civilization of southern Babylonia to the civilization, the cult, and especially the religious practices, of all hither Asia. I have already noted that the Sumerian language continued among the Semitic Babylonians and among the Assyrians, down almost

[1] E-gal means both temple and palace, suggesting the original connection of the two, which is confirmed by the account of the construction of temple and palace and of the relation of king and temple as described in our book of Kings. The temple at Jerusalem was in fact, until the Exile, the royal church or cathedral of the kings of Judah, and not to the exclusion of other places of worship. The beginning of the attempt to make it exclusive is found in the reformation under Josiah, and the adaptation and adoption of the law book of the old Israelite shrine at Shechem, Deuteronomy.

to the time of Christ, to be the church language, the language in which hymns and incantations and exorcisms were written, that it played for hither Asia the part which Latin played in the western world down to and, in many places, after the Reformation. Our excavations of Babylonian temples have shown us, furthermore, that, in principle, the temple at Jerusalem was copied after those old Semitic temples of Babylonia, which originated with the Sumerians, and which were developed among the Semites, who took over the script and so much of the cult and religion of the old Sumerians, combining with these contributions of their own. Let me take, for instance, the greatest of all the temples of the old time, the temple of Enlil, the great god of Nippur, which I had the good fortune to excavate. This temple was called E-Kur, Mountain House. A huge platform was raised high above the plain, and on one side of this platform was erected an artificial mountain, a three-stepped stage pyramid. In front and on two sides of this were great courts, about which were buildings. The altar was in the inner court at the foot of the ziggurat or stage pyramid. The top of this ziggurat was too much ruined for us to determine absolutely what was there, but according to Herodotus's account of a similar later temple of Marduk in Babylonia, on top was a chamber having no image, but which was occupied each night by the priestess who waited there to serve the god should he descend.[1]

[1] There has come down to us a stele of a Babylonian king, Nabu-ablu-iddina, containing a representation of sacrifice to

The Hebrew temple was built on top of a hill, which was so terraced by a great retaining wall as to constitute a large, level platform. At one side of this, raised above the platform, stood the temple building, the sacred place, in front of which was the altar. Going into the building, one would find that there were two chambers, a larger one in front, and behind that a smaller chamber, the inner sanctuary, without window of any sort. This inner chamber was the earthly abiding place of the God of the Jews. No image of him was erected here, but there was a wooden box containing two stone tablets with five words on each, and by these two great human-headed, winged creatures, the cherubim. From the description of these cherubim which we find in the first chapter of the book of Ezekiel it would appear that they were, in principle certainly, the same as the great figures which have been discovered in Assyrian temples, winged lions and winged bulls, which represented the presence of the divinity. The book of Genesis tells us that cherubim were placed outside the Garden of Eden as guardians to guard the dwelling-place of God, that man, driven forth, might not return. In Assyria the cherubim stood outside the temple doors, like the cherubim of the story of Eden, but in the Jerusalem temple

Shamash, the Sun-god. Below are the altar and sacrifice, with the priest and worshippers before it. Above is a tabernacle, inside of which is the figure of the Sun-god. Outside of this two figures, angels or ministers, let down to the altar by cords the sun disk. The god is a person, unseen, dwelling in an inner holy of holies, acting through the visible disk of the sun, whose motions are controlled by his ministers; through which also, as fire, he accepts and consumes the offerings burned on his altars.

they were placed within, in the shrine itself. That they were the bearers or supporters of the Presence of God, is indicated by the account in the first chapter of Ezekiel. And here, unless I am mistaken, we come to one of those striking differences between the Hebrew and the Babylonian or Egyptian or whatsoever heathen people. While the Jew retained the cherubim, he removed it from the place in which it was conspicuous, and where it might have become an object of worship. He did not abolish it until after the Exile, but he hid it in the inner shrine. When Jeroboam led the revolt of the ten tribes against the oriental despotism of Solomon, recalling Israel to more primitive conditions, he restored in those temples which he made royal chapels—Bethel and Dan—the bull [1] to its former place in the open.

The temple at Jerusalem was a striking contrast to the more primitive, previously existing conditions of worship among the Israelites. The Babylonian idea of a temple had long before this made itself felt in the west, and from what we can gather from the few representations which have come down to us, the Phœnicians had temples similar in form to that which Solomon erected in Jerusalem. The ordinary form of worship throughout Canaan, however, was of a different type, a ruder idea of worship, connecting itself with fountains, sacred stones, trees, and the like, but of that more hereafter, when we discuss the excavations in Palestine. It was the close touch of Solomon with the Phœnicians, probably, which led him to build the

[1] Was it a winged bull?

elaborate temple in Jerusalem, which was in its form and idea indirectly derived from the old Sumerian Babylonian temples.[1]

And one thing more. We find in David's time, according to the book of Samuel, Cretans and other foreigners serving in the temple, and from time to time in the later records we find mention of Nethinim, or persons *given;* that is, those enslaved and compelled to serve in the temple. We have, in fact, in the book of Joshua, a reference to the enslaving of the Gibeonites, who were made "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the temple. Ultimately, long after the Exile, these Nethinim were finally included among the Levites. We have found at Nippur some of the temple pay lists, containing the titles of a great many of the officials serving in the temple, the amounts which they

[1] There was a resemblance also in many details, as in the palm decorations, in the great basin, which represented the *Tehom,* or abyss of waters beneath the earth. Peculiarly Hebrew in the Jerusalem temple, however, was the Ark, with its contents of the Decalogue. With this we may compare the pillars of the Law set up at that more ancient Israelite shrine at Shechem (Deut. 27). In both cases, it will be observed, a representation of the Law of God takes the place of the figure of a god. It should be added that besides the great temples of Babylonia with ziggurats, described above, there were others, and these by far the more common, which consisted of two rooms, with their doors so arranged that a worshipper standing in the court without could see the centre of the back wall of the inner chamber. Here, in the place occupied in the Hebrew Holy of Holies by the Ark, stood an image or other representation of the god. Behind this wall was commonly a treasury (the Hebrew *debir*), where records or precious things were safe under the protection of the divinity. The altar was in the court in front of the outer room. Such shrines we found at Nippur in connection with the great temple, and such shrines the Germans found at Babylon.

received in payment, and the like. Against the names of some in these lists it is marked that they had absconded. They were clearly slaves who had taken an opportunity to escape. These lists are a curious commentary on the history of the development of the temple staff at Jerusalem. The same methods were pursued in the one place as in the other. Little by little a more spiritual conception entered into the Hebrew practice, until ultimately all service was rendered by those who were consecrated and attached to the temple by a bond of religion, not of servitude, and all who served in the temple in any capacity were counted to the tribe of Levi.

Assyrian records throw light on the stories of Ahab, Jehu, and Jeroboam II in a way to which I think sufficient attention is not ordinarily called. It was somewhere in the ninth century before Christ that the Assyrian power began to revive, after the period of struggle and catastrophe of which I have already spoken, sufficiently to send its armies into the west land, northern Syria. It was Ashur-nasir-pal II, 884–860 B. C., who carried the conquests of Assyria as far as to the Mediterranean. It was his successor, Shalmaneser III, with whom Israel first came in contact. In 854 this Shalmaneser was met by a confederation of kings of the west land, among whom were Ahab of Israel and Ben-Hadad of Damascus. The latter is evidently the most powerful of the confederates, but Israel is no mean second. The Assyrian records of this time, combined with those of the Bible, explain to us Ahab's policy. Damascus was the most powerful state of

the west, which was trying to gain the hegemony. Ahab's alliance by marriage with the daughter of the priest-king of Tyre was for the purpose of getting assistance against Damascus. Only when Assyria appeared on the scene did Ahab join forces with the other kings of the west land under Ben-Hadad's lead to resist the still greater danger. Now, all such alliances involved the introduction of the worship of other gods. So we are told with regard to Solomon that he set up the worship of all sorts of foreign divinities about his temple at Jerusalem, because he married the daughters of foreign kings. He made alliances with them and brought in their worship. Alliances, and most of all a close alliance cemented by marriage, involved such introduction of foreign worship. Now, what was poor Ahab to do—be crushed by Damascus, or make an alliance with the king of Tyre and introduce Baal worship? Here was the attitude which the prophets of Israel took throughout, or at least those whose record has come down to us as true prophets: "No foreign worship under any circumstances. Let us stand by ourselves. Keep out of these alliances and trust to the Lord for help." It was very idealistic, and it seemed to most of those old kings very unpractical. I wonder how we should have felt about it?

The battle of Qarqar, where these kings of the west land fought with Shalmaneser in 854, gives us a fixed date for Israelite and Judean history, changing considerably the dates reached by dead reckoning of the regnal years of successive kings in the Judean and Israelite accounts given in the Bible, which constitute

a part of that chronology of Archbishop Usher, which, in the boyhood of the elder among us, was regarded as a constituent part of the Bible.

The next record in the Assyrian inscriptions shows us a changed situation, and explains to us the meaning of the Hebrew historical records of that period, which were not thoroughly understandable before. In 842 the king of Assyria was again in the west country. This time Jehu[1] is on the throne of Israel. Instead of being in alliance with Damascus, he pays tribute to the Assyrian king. Now Jehu was the follower of the prophets Elijah and Elisha in the most fanatical way, so fanatical that the later prophets, like Hosea, denounce him. He undertook to blot out foreign worship in Israel altogether by a combination of cruelty with treachery. Under pretense of a great feast he got together all the Baal priests and massacred them. He would have no such alliance as Ahab's house had made. Without Tyre to help him the hand of Damascus fell heavy upon him, and the Bible records tell us how the Syrians prevailed against Israel. Jehu paid tribute to Assyria to buy the Assyrian king to attack Damascus.

The Assyrian records throw a good deal of light on the political situation from this time forward until the

[1] Jehu or Yehu or Yahu. What is here written *J* is the letter elsewhere written *I* or *Y*. Vowels are unessential and, if short, interchangeable. What is here written *e* is there written *a*. Jehu is Yahu, the Hebrew sacred divine name. That was clearly not his whole name, but only part of it. That he should be thus called is evidence of the effect on men's imagination of his Yahu or Yahaweh fanaticism.

time of Jeroboam. The Assyrian campaigns in the west weaken both Assyria and Damascus, and ultimately Israel has the opportunity to recuperate and at last, under Jeroboam II, about 750 B. C., becomes the most important kingdom of the west, more important than Damascus. But Assyria shortly regains its strength and under a great conqueror, Tiglath-Pileser IV, recommences the conquest of the west. Partly from the Bible, partly from the Assyrian inscriptions, by putting the two together, one can now read the whole record, and understand the whole policies of the period down to the destruction of Damascus in 734, and the final capture of Samaria in 721, when Sargon transported nearly 30,000 of the principal men of Samaria, settling some of them on the river Khabor in Mesopotamia, where a few years ago were discovered inscriptions, the names on which seem to give evidence that at that period, somewhere in the following century, Israelites of the ten tribes were dwelling as Assyrian subjects in that territory.

Every one is familiar with the discovery of the inscriptions of Sennacherib recording the invasion of Palestine in 701 B. C. This record has been so often commented on in connection with the Bible story, and is so familiar, that I will do no more than to call attention to one extremely important matter which is brought out by these records, which has not received the emphasis it ought to have received. Apparently the Assyrian records of Sennacherib's predecessor, Sargon, show the Assyrians moving back and forth, up and down the Philistine coast, and once invading

Palestine itself. References to these movements are contained in the book of Isaiah, chapters 10, 20. In the historical addition to the book of Isaiah, chapters 36–39, we are told how after Sargon's death and the accession of Sennacherib Merodach-Baladan, that turbulent Chaldæan who had made himself king of Babylon, sent messengers to Hezekiah, and Hezekiah showed those messengers his treasures. Evidently this was part of the arrangement for the great rebellion against Sennacherib, which took place almost immediately after he came to the throne. Merodach-Baladan was the heart and soul of this, and Hezekiah was the leader, as we learn from the Assyrian inscriptions as well as the Bible record, in the west land. Isaiah protests with all his might against this alliance. His attitude is the same as that of the former prophets. His loyalty to Yahaweh, the God of Israel, leads him to oppose any such alliance, which must mean introduction of the worship of false gods, as earlier in his career he had found the league of Ahaz with Assyria to mean the introduction of Assyrian worship. We know now from the Assyrian inscriptions why it was that Merodach-Baladan was able to make himself master of Babylon and to enlist the Babylonians with their great wealth in the revolt against Assyria. Babylon was the Rome of that period. Whoever became king of Assyria must come and take the hands of Marduk in Babylon. This all other Assyrian kings had done, but Sennacherib failed to do so, and regarded and treated Babylon as an ordinary province of his kingdom. Both the political and the religious pride of

the Babylonians was deeply offended by this and in the Babylonian records Sennacherib is not recognized as king. Thus, its pride and its prestige damaged, Babylon was ready to welcome any one who would enable it to assert again its religious supremacy. Sennacherib first directed his armies against Babylon, and it was not until four years after his accession that, victorious there, he marched against Palestine. He has given in his inscriptions a vivid account of the way he laid waste that country, carrying off over 200,000 captives, besides innumerable cattle; how Hezekiah, who was the head of the revolt in that region, had dethroned the king of Ekron, loyal to the Assyrians, holding him prisoner in Jerusalem and setting up in his stead a tool of his own; how Sennacherib shut up Hezekiah in Jerusalem; how Hezekiah made submission and paid a large tribute, besides surrendering the women of his harem and his daughters. We have a bas-relief of Sennacherib besieging and capturing the most southern of the fortresses of Judah, on the edge of the Philistine plain, the ancient Lachish. Then we learn how the king of Egypt, who had been coquetting with the allies, moved against Sennacherib, and how the latter, fearing treachery from the rear, sent a force to Jerusalem to demand the absolute surrender of that city, and of Hezekiah himself, that he might not have a hostile fortress behind him.

It is a very dramatic story as told in the book of Kings and in the prose addition to the book of Isaiah: the Rabshakeh's insolent demand of immediate surrender, his insulting attitude toward Hezekiah; Heze-

kiah's supplication before the Lord in the temple as he spreads out Sennacherib's letter before him, and then the appearance of Isaiah, who had so strongly denounced Ahaz's alliance with the Assyrians and Hezekiah's alliance with Merodach-Baladan and the Egyptians. Now Isaiah bids Hezekiah without fear to reject Sennacherib's terms and to defend the city against the mighty Assyrians, trusting in the power of the Lord God of Israel. Sennacherib's army was destroyed, apparently by the plague, and Sennacherib obliged to abandon Palestine, leaving Jerusalem untaken. This practical defeat of the mighty Assyrian by the Lord God of Israel made the most profound impression, both in the religious and political life of Judah. As we shall see in another lecture, the peculiar position of Jerusalem and the temple of Jerusalem made that city, or rather perhaps the temple of God in that city, an almost impregnable fortress. The exhibition in this particular crisis of that impregnability helped enormously to develop the idea that the Lord God of Zion was invincible, a belief which played a great part in the development of the Messianic hope.

But the disaster which befell Sennacherib's army, and his consequent retreat, had another effect, this time in Babylonia. Sennacherib, after driving out Merodach-Baladan from Babylonia in 702, had set up in his place a puppet king, Bel-ibni. Encouraged by Sennacherib's defeat in the west, Babylon now rose against Bel-ibni and welcomed back Merodach-Baladan, in 700 B. C. Again Sennacherib drove out Merodach-Baladan, setting up in his stead this time as

king of Babylon his own son, Ashur-Nadin-Shum, who succeeded in maintaining himself for five years. At the end of that time Merodach-Baladan's Chaldeans, who had taken refuge in Elam, invaded Babylonia in conjunction with the Elamites, captured Babylon, took prisoner Sennacherib's son and set up another king in his place. Sennacherib's first attempt to regain the country ended in a defeat. It was not until 689 that he finally succeeded in reconquering Babylon. Angered and outraged by the persistent rebellions of that city, he determined to destroy it for good and all. Rogers, in his *History of Assyria,* vol. II, gives this account of what he did, which fairly estimates the character of his act:

> Thereupon ensued one of the wildest scenes of human folly in all history. The city was treated exactly as the Assyrian kings had been accustomed to treat insignificant villages which had joined in rebellion. It was plundered, its inhabitants driven from their homes or deported, its walls broken down. The torch was then applied, and over the plain rolled the smoke consuming temples and palaces, the fruit of centuries of high civilization. All that the art of man had up to that time devised of beauty and of glory, of majesty and massiveness, lay in one great smoldering ruin. Over this the waves of the Euphrates were diverted, that the site of antiquity's greatest city might be turned into a pestilential swamp. Marduk, the great god of the city, was carried away and set up in the city of Ashur, that no future settlers might be able to secure the protection of the deity who had raised the city to eminence.
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> It was undoubtedly the hope and belief of Sennacherib that he had finally settled the Babylonian question, which had so long burdened him and former kings of Assyria. There would now, in his opinion, be no further trouble about the crowning of

kings in Babylon and the taking of the hands of Marduk, for the city was a swamp and Marduk an exile. There would be no more glorification of that city at the expense of Nineveh, which was now, by a process of elimination, assuredly the chief city of western Asia. But in all this Sennacherib reasoned not as a wise man. He had indeed blotted out the city, but the site hallowed by custom and venerated for centuries remained. He had slain or driven into exile the citizens, but in the hearts of the survivors there burned still the old patriotism, the old pride of citizenship in a world city. He had humbled the Babylonians indeed, but what of the Chaldeans who had already produced a Merodach-Baladan and might produce another like him, who would seek revenge for the punishment of his race and its allies in Babylonia? From a purely commercial point of view the destruction had been great folly. The plundering of the great city before its burning had undoubtedly produced immense treasure to carry away into Assyria, but there would have been a great annual income of tribute, which was now cut off; and a vast loss by the fire, which blotted out warehouses and extensive stores, as well as temples and palaces. This historic crime would later be avenged in full measure. In any estimation of the character of the Assyrian people the destruction of Babylon must be set down by the side of the raids and the murders of Ashur-nazir-pal. It is a sad episode in human history which gave over to savages in thought and in action the leadership of the Semitic race, and took it away from the Hebrews and Aramæans and the culture-loving Babylonians.

To appreciate what this act meant in the ancient world is very difficult for us moderns. The nearest parallel that I can suggest to the Babylon of that period is Rome of the Middle Ages. Babylon was the centre of the religion and the cult of all western Asia. For 1500 years it had been the leader of the religion, the thought, the civilization of the world. Its god, through

the priests of the great temple of E-sagila, gave empire to whom they would, precisely as did the Pope of Rome in the Middle Ages. Now his temple was destroyed and the statue of the great god himself carried off to Assyria, where he was made an underling in the Assyrian Olympus. Even in Assyria and in Sennacherib's own household his frightfulness produced a revulsion. It was too horrible, too awful, too unutterably impious an outrage. Sennacherib himself was assassinated, and, to quote again from Rogers's history:

> Esarhaddon [Sennacherib's son and successor] was smitten with a great love for the ancient land with all its honored customs. His whole life shows plainly how deeply he was influenced by the glory of Babylon's past, and how eager he was to see undone the ruin which his father had wrought. As soon as the news of his father's death reached his ears he caused himself to be proclaimed as *shakkanak* of Babylon. In this he was going back to the goodly example of his grandfather Sargon. Sennacherib had ceased altogether to wear a Babylonian title. Babylonia was to him, not a separated land united with his own, but a subject territory inhabited by slaves whom he despised. Esarhaddon did not even take the name of king, which in Babylonian eyes would have been unlawful without taking the hands of Marduk, now exiled to Assyria.
>
> In the very first year of his reign (680) Esarhaddon gave clear indication of his reversal of his father's policy. Babylon had been destroyed; he would rebuild it. No Assyrian king before him had ever set himself so great a task. He did not live to see it brought to the final and glorious consummation which he had planned, but he did see and rejoice in a large part of the work. With much religious solemnity, with the anointing of oil and the pouring out of wine, was the foundation laying begun. From the swamps which Sennacherib had wantonly made slowly began to rise the renewed temple of E-sagila, the temple of the

great gods, while around it and the newly growing city the king erected from the foundations upward the great walls of Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel. All these, as the king boasts, were enlarged and beautified beyond that which they had been in their former glory. Slowly through his reign, along with the wars which must now be told, went on these works of peace and utility, to find their entire completion in the reign of Esarhaddon's like-minded son.

This awful catastrophe could not fail to make its impression on the thought of Israel, an impression that strangely enough has been generally overlooked. It is the destruction of Babylon which is described in the two chapters of Isaiah, 13 and 14, which open the volume of his prophecies on the nations. Those two chapters are now headed: "Oracle of Babylon, which Isaiah, son of Amos saw." They are in point of fact an oracle of the Day of Yahaweh, of which the destruction of Babylon was the culminating event, the real outcome of the Day of Yahaweh being the deliverance of the captives of Israel and the punishment of the Assyrian great power. It is, in other words, what we commonly define as a Messianic prophecy. Isaiah, as is evident from other passages in his writings, deeply impressed by the deportation of Israel and the capture of Samaria, which took place in his early ministry, in 721 B. C., looked to a restoration of those deported Israelites, and in his picture of the Day of Yahaweh he sees Jacob and Israel brought back from their captivity in Assyria and Media to their own country. The insolent destruction and devastation of the world in Sennacherib's wars, culminating in the ruin and desecra-

tion of Babylonia, with the removal of Marduk himself to Nineveh, was the judgment of Yahaweh upon the world by the hand of the Assyrian, which of course was bound to result in good to the chosen people, bringing back from the lands of the Khabur and Media the deported captives of Jacob, and ending finally in the destruction of the hated Assyrians themselves in the holy mountain by a catastrophe vastly greater than that which befell them there in 701 B. C., and which itself so profoundly impressed the imagination of the prophet.[1]

There is another passage in the book of Isaiah, and it is also in the second volume of that book, the volume of the prophecies against the nations, chapters 13–27, which is curiously illustrated by Babylonian documents. This occurs in Isaiah's denunciation of Ephraim, fol-

[1] Our present book of Isaiah consists of two main sections, chapters 1–39 and 40–66. The latter is an anonymous work of the post-exilic period, of the very highest religious value, which has been bound up with the book of Isaiah. The book of Isaiah really consists of chapters 1–39, the last four chapters, however, being merely an historical supplement copied from the records, almost entirely from our book of Kings. The prophecies of Isaiah are contained in the first thirty-five chapters of our present book. To these was added for convenience of reference a historical supplement, copied from the records, and with the volume so formed was bound up, in the case of the copy preserved in our Bible, another great book of prophecies, now commonly called Deutero-Isaiah. The book of Isaiah's prophecies, chapters 1–35, is in three parts, or volumes, carefully edited, each piously concluded by the editors with a hymn or a psalm section. Volume I, chapters 1–11, contains notices about Isaiah, together with prophecies from him, from 734 to 701, closing with a hymn, chapter 12. Volume III consists of five woes, very fully elaborated, four of them dealing with or basing on the struggle with the Assyrians under Sennacherib in 701 (chaps. 28–34), and also

lowing and connected with a prophecy against Damascus (chap. 17), from the period of the alliance between those two countries at the very beginning of Isaiah's ministry, 734 or thereabouts. Apparently Ephraim had borrowed the Adonis or Tammuz cult from Damascus. It is the practice of this cult to which Isaiah refers (vv. 10, 11):

> "For thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation,
> And the Rock of thy refuge thou has not remembered;
> Therefore thou plantest Adonis gardens,
> And the cutting of an alien God thou sowest;
> In the day of thy planting thou forcest it,
> And on the morrow thou makest grow thy seed.
> Withered the harvest
> In the day of sickness and cureless pain."

Adonis or Lord was the name given throughout Syria to the old Sumerian Babylonian god Tammuz.

ends with a hymn (chap. 35). The second volume contains the "Burdens of the Nations," chapters 13–23, ending with an apocalypse, 24–27, interspersed with psalms, based on the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great. While Isaiah prophesied from 739 to 689 B. C., or a little beyond, his prophecies did not receive their final shape, therefore, until after more than 350 years, and many of them were much edited and expanded in the intervening period. Our prophecy, the first in the "Burdens of the Nations," chapters 13, 14, shows something of this process. Isaiah's original prophecy on the fall of Babylon in 689 B. C. is contained in chapter 13, and 14 : 1, 2, 22–27. In this was inserted a Taunt Song on the fall of Nineveh (606 B. C.), 14 : 4b–21, with an introduction, verses 3, 4a, applying it and, with it, the whole prophecy to the period after the Exile; thus making the original prophecy on the day of Yahaweh, based on the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689 B. C., an oracle on the capture of Babylon by Cyrus or Darius. This is a good illustration of the general method of the treatment of the prophecies in general, a living growth from their original delivery to their final canonization.

Tammuz was "the true son of the great deep." Originally, he was the son of Ea, the god of Eridu, and was at the root of the great earth stalk which grew in that city, the central place of the earth. He was the grain buried beneath the ground at the time of the annual inundation of the Tigris and Euphrates, for the basis of the old Sumerian cults was the fertilization of the ground through the flooding of those rivers, which were the mother goddess. We have almost innumerable fragments of liturgies from the very popular ritual of Tammuz, laments beginning:

> "Alas! my hero Damu!
> Alas, child, true lord!"

His mother, the goddess, is represented as beginning the wailing:

> "His mother wails, she begins the wailing for him.
> Wailing and sighing, she begins the wailing for him."

Very commonly we have in such laments an expression like this: "He is gone, he is gathered to the bosom of the earth." But the lamentation for his death is a prelude to the prayer for his return, and that prepares the way for the exultation over his reappearance as the ripe grain. The prayers for this return were among the most familiar of the old Babylonian penitentials, called, to use their term, "How longs." Here is an example: "How long will the springing up of verdure be withheld? How long will vegetation be withheld?"

A part of the ritual of the Tammuz feast was the

planting of the gardens. To the present day the people of Babylonia plant their gardens of vegetables in the mud left behind as the waters of the inundation recede. With such soil, and water and the torrid sun, these grow with amazing rapidity, bear their fruit and begin to perish as the mud, after a little, is baked dry by the burning sun. In the Semitic period Tammuz came to be associated with Shamash, the Sun-god, as his child, and it was perhaps through his solar relation that his cult spread westward, connecting with or appropriating the myths and cult of the midsummer god as Adonis, *Lord.* This cult won great popularity not only in Syria and Phœnicia, but even in Greece; and as the cult went westward its ritual continued in its essentials and in some of its details the same as that of the original Sumerian Tammuz of southern Babylonia. First, the wailing for the death of the god, who is the fertilization principle, his burial and his descent to the underworld, the search for him by a forlorn, loveless, lifeless world,[1] and then his joyful resurrection as the grain and the crops and all life, restored after its burial in the womb of the earth. Even the planting of the gardens, which were a reality in Babylonia, was continued in the west under climatic conditions which made them unreal. In Babylonia the gardens of vegetables grew almost of themselves in the ooze of the receding floods. In the west they were artificial, practically useless growths of the speediest and most easily raised greens in shallow pots, sherds, etc.,

[1] This is very vividly pictured in a well-known Babylonian liturgy commonly called "The Descent of Ishtar into Hades."

forced by watering under the hot sun. It is to this foreign cult, apparently fostered and popularized in Israel by the alliance with Damascus, that Isaiah refers in this prophecy. They have forgotten the God who really gives them victory; that Rock of whom the psalmists sung, the invincible fortress, and they are planting these foolish, artificial gardens of Adonis, an alien god, forcing the greens they plant by hotbed methods to bring about their ripening, only to wither instantly, a symbol of the cureless pain that should result to them from this infidelity toward their God. I do not think that the real meaning of this passage of the Adonis cult has been noticed by others, and indeed it is due to the discovery of the old liturgies from Babylonia that we are able fully to interpret this passage. In the time of Ezekiel (8:14) we find this cult apparently one of the secret and illicit cults in Jerusalem itself, and Ezekiel, in speaking of it, uses the old Sumerian name Tammuz.

Next let me call your attention to a passage in the book of Jeremiah which gives us some important information, and yet which in its present translation is, I think, quite, if not altogether, unintelligible. It is the thirty-second chapter of the book of Jeremiah, the passage beginning with the eleventh verse. This passage tells us how, during the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, Jeremiah purchased a parcel of land in his home town Anathoth from Hanameel, his cousin, and they subscribed and sealed the record before witnesses who attached their seals and weighed out the money in scales. Then Jeremiah took the record of purchase,

the closed (the law and the statutes[1]) and the open, and he gave the deed of purchase to Baruch, son of Neriah, in the presence of Hanameel his kinsman and in the presence of the witnesses who had witnessed the deed, and commanded that it should be put in an earthen pot and buried in the ground. Now at the time when this passage received its final touches the scribes did not understand what had been done, because customs had changed completely, so when they came to the statement of a deed sealed or closed, and open, they understood this as having a mystic reference to the Law, and one of them actually wrote on the margin of the copy, after the word sealed, *the Law and the statutes*. We find many such little notes, where scribes have tried to interpret the prophecies in the light of the Pentateuch. Eliminate this note and the whole passage is clear. It is a description of the regular method of making contracts, deeds of sale, and the like in Babylonia. The contract was written on a clay tablet, which was closed or sealed by putting around it an envelope of clay, on which the substance of the contract was again written. Witnesses attached their seals to this, it was given to a banker or safe-deposit man, if we may so call him, who put it in an earthen jar for safe-keeping with other records and frequently or ordinarily buried it in the ground, which was the common safe deposit of the ordinary men in small

[1] This gloss is not in the old Greek translation known as the Septuagint, or LXX. The Greek Jeremiah is one-eighth smaller than the Hebrew. Passages occurring in the Hebrew only are under suspicion.

places. On fulfilment of the contract, the ordinary practice was to break off the outer clay envelope. We have found thousands of such documents in the various Babylonian towns and cities, dating from some time in the fourth millennium B. C. on up almost to the beginning of our era. It was in 1887, I think, that, reading the book of Jeremiah, I noticed for the first time the real meaning of this passage and presented my results to the Biblical scholars of this country in session in June of the following year. A little later, visiting Professor Sayce in Oxford, I called his attention to the passage, my interpretation of it, and my prediction, as a result of that interpretation, that we should ultimately find in Palestine, as we had found in Babylonia, clay tablets containing records. He accepted my conclusion instantly. Just at that time came the discovery at Tel el-Amarna of almost 400 clay tablets, letters from Egyptian governors, allies, and subject kings, from Babylonia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, but from a period almost 700 years before Jeremiah's time.

A further examination of the Bible and the use of words designating writing and books and the material for the same contained therein, shows that up to about 700 B. C. clay tablets were used. By the close of the next century, in the time of Jeremiah, books were written on papyrus, as in Egypt, but contracts still continued to be written on clay tablets. If we could only put our spades in the right places, both in Palestine and in Babylonia, we should probably find contemporary records of Israelitish and Jewish kings,

statesmen, and prophets, precisely as we have done in Babylonia. Heretofore we have had little success in doing this. Something less than ten clay tablets have been found in Palestinian explorations, the greater number from the period antedating the Hebrew conquest, two from the time of Ashur-bani-pal of Assyria, one written by a resident Assyrian official of Gezer in Assyrian, but nothing in Hebrew, although some of the letters written from Jerusalem in the fourteenth century B. C. in the Babylonian language were evidently composed by people speaking the native Canaanitish or Hebrew language, and even have explanatory glosses in that language.

I think that not only in Palestine but also in Babylonia we may hope to find clay tablets written by Jews. Excavating at Nippur, we had the good fortune to discover a number of tablets the witnesses to which were, evidently Jews. They bore such familiar Bible names as Adoram and Gadaliah, Haggai and Hammaniah, Menahem and Mattaniah, Benjamin, Nathaniel, Simeon, and others of the same sort. We already knew from objects found in Nippur that that ancient city was the site of a considerable Jewish settlement in the post-Christian period; the names on these tablets showed us that there must have been many Jews in that immediate neighborhood shortly after the Exile. Now, in the book of Ezekiel, we are told that the Jewish captives were settled by the river Kebar or Chebar, in the land of the Chaldeans, by the side of which was the ruined mound of Abib. The tablets containing these Jewish names found in Nippur contained also the

mention of the canal Kabaru, which is the Babylonian form of the Hebrew Kebar, in or close to Nippur. I have always dreamed that some day when we complete those excavations at Nippur we shall find a Jewish synagogue or some sort of place of worship, and clay tablets containing sections of the Pentateuch or of the Psalms, or it may be even of the prophecies. What a find that would be!

The Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions thus in many ways elucidate and, to use a common expression, confirm the narrative of the Bible, and the prophets. It was supposed that, this being the case, they would peculiarly elucidate and confirm the book of Daniel, and indeed the editors of the great International Commentary assigned the book of Daniel to me on the ground that a commentary on that book should be written by one familiar with Babylonian records. As I hope to show, those records do elucidate the book of Daniel, but so far from confirming in the ordinary sense the historic character of that book, they show us that history is strangely turned about and confused in it. Belshazzar is in our book of Daniel the son of Nebuchadrezzar and his successor as king of Babylon. Babylon is taken in his reign by Darius the Mede and destroyed. Now, in point of fact, there were several kings between Nebuchadrezzar and Belshazzar, and Belshazzar was not king of Babylon, but the son of King Nabonidus, who was no blood relation whatever to Nebuchadrezzar, whom he succeeded with several reigns between. Belshazzar was not king but crown prince. Nabonidus, a priest by origin, was the pacifist

king to whom I have alluded before, interested in exploring the antiquities of the past and reforming the religion of the present. Belshazzar, his son, was assigned an important part in the government. At least, in the records we have continual mention of Belshazzar as in this place or that, when Nabonidus was in some other place. It was Cyrus the Persian and not Darius the Mede who took Babylon, put an end to Nabonidus's reign, and perhaps slew Belshazzar; but, so far from destroying Babylon, he treated it with great favor. Apparently the Babylonian priests of the temple of Marduk, outraged by Nabonidus's reforms, made his victory possible; and Cyrus's inscriptions show us that he ascribed his victory to Marduk. What then is the meaning of the statements in the book of Daniel? Are they pure fabrications?

On the rocks in the pass of Behistun, on the road from Babylonia to Persia, the Persian king, Darius, a successor of Cyrus but of a different family, engraved a monumental inscription. For this purpose the rock was carefully smoothed, all faulty places were cut out and filled in with strong smooth stone, and the whole surface brought to a high finish. It must have been a colossal work, for the bottom of the inscription is 300 feet above the floor of the pass. On this rock Darius inscribed in three languages the account of his wars and his victories. It was the inscriptions in Persian and Babylonian which Sir Henry Rawlinson deciphered, and which thus became the key to and the foundation of all following interpretations of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. From the Behistun in-

scription it appears that at the beginning of his reign Darius had to meet and put down innumerable revolts in all parts of his domains. Two of these revolts were in Babylonia. Darius says: "Further there was a Babylonian, Nidintubel his name,—who rebelled in Babylon, lying to the people and saying, 'I am Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus.' Then all the Babylonians went over to that Nidintubel, Babylon rebelled; he made himself king over Babylon." Darius marched to Babylon and joined battle with the pretender. He won the victory and pursued the pretender to Babylon, which he took, capturing and slaying him. But a little later, while Darius was in Persia and Media putting down revolts there, the Babylonians again rebelled under a certain Arakhu, an Armenian, who "deceived the people of Babylon, saying: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus.' Thereupon, the people of Babylon rebelled against me and went over to this Arakhu. He took Babylon; he became king in Babylon." This time Darius sent an army against Babylon and, as he says, by the help of Ormuzd, won the victory, "took Babylon, smote the army of Babylon, the rebels, and took them captive." We have, furthermore, contract tablets from the reign of one of these Nebuchadrezzars," presumably the second, showing that he reigned about two years.

Now from Herodotus we learn that Darius did very severely punish Babylon at the time of this second rebellion. His treatment of it was quite unlike that friendly treatment which Cyrus had accorded it, precisely as the attitude of Babylon toward him was differ-

ent from that of Babylon toward Cyrus. The reason for this is clear. Cyrus came in agreement with the priests of Marduk, ascribing his victory to Marduk. Darius was a Zoroastrian, alien in race and hostile in faith to Babylon and Marduk, and he ascribes his victory to Ormuzd. Now observe that both these pretenders called themselves by the name of Nebuchadrezzar. They professed to be a sort of Nebuchadrezzar redivivus, that same story of strange expectation which showed itself in Britain looking for the return of an Arthur, in Germany looking for the return of a Charlemagne or a Frederick Barbarossa, or even, if we may use that comparison, the Roman empire looking for the return of Nero, the last of the great Cæsar's descendants. From the book of Daniel we see what the name Nebuchadrezzar meant, what legends gathered about him. He was the great man of Babylon, and the recent excavations of Babylon itself have shown his title to greatness. He was the great man of his day about whom all thought centred. When one spoke of Babylon, one thought of Nebuchadrezzar and one thought naturally, also, when the capture of Babylon was spoken of, not of Cyrus, for his capture of it was, as stated, one which amounted to nothing, but of its capture by Darius, which involved a terrible punishment; and the distinction between Cyrus, whose attitude toward the religion of Babylon was friendly, and Darius, whose attitude was hostile, is marked by the term Median, applied to the latter. He was different from Cyrus; if, then, Cyrus were Persian, Darius must belong to that old Median kingdom

which had played so great a part a little before the time of Cyrus, and of which Cyrus's kingdom was the heir.

This is the method of folk history. I found a most interesting exhibition of this in exploring a good many years ago the folk-lore of the Wends, a little enclave of Slavonic peoples on the borders of Prussia and Saxony, retaining, in the midst of their German surroundings, a part at least of their Slavonic identity, both in language and in customs. They had a number of stories which we know as Grimm's fairy-tales, but which appeared among them in a peculiar form. Mixed up with the old bogies and mythical legendary figures of the fairy-stories, as we know them, are Frederick the Great of Prussia and his general, Ziethen. Folk-lore knows no time. All ages are apt to be confused in it. It figures the great episodes. Those things which made a deep impression are held on to and passed down as part of the folk tradition, mixed in with the old, old stories which we call fairy-tales. The great man which that part of the country knew, whom it felt and experienced, was Frederick the Great, and next to him his Hussar general, Ziethen. Here we have in the book of Daniel precisely the same sort of thing.

I should like to tell you also about the story of the three children thrust into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadrezzar, reference to which actually appears in the book of Jeremiah,[1] and much more, did time permit. But if these things are not history, one may say, what place have they in an inspired book? They are history, but they are history of different sort from that re-

[1] Jer. 29 : 21, 22.

corded in Woodrow Wilson's history of the United States, for instance. You must broaden your conception of history, as I tried to show in dealing with the early stories of Genesis. History you can get out of this book. It was never meant to tell you history in the sense that Woodrow Wilson tells you the history of the United States; but if you will use it for what it was intended to be used for and what it should be used for, you will find that our new knowledge has made it a new and vastly greater book. It is one of the stirring books of the Old Testament. All these tales and stories, woven in with the history of the past, had been handed down among the people, not in Hebrew, for the people had ceased to speak Hebrew as their common tongue, but in Aramæan. Then came the persecution of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes, when nation and religion alike approached extinction, and there arose that grand old man Mattathias, the faithful priest, with his five valiant sons, who dared not only to refuse to sacrifice to the heathen god, but who killed on the altar the official sent to compel the people of his home town, Modin, to sacrifice. And then they fled to the mountains, and the old man succumbed to the hardships, but his valiant sons continued the struggle, until at last they won not only freedom and the reestablishment of the religion of Israel, but national independence and a strong kingdom. But one of the great agents in this, the man who helped with his pen and with his tongue, was the writer who took those old tales with their stories of faith and heroism and promulgated them in a new way, the way of the new proph-

ecy, which inspired the people with courage to resist, which convinced them that their God would be with them as He had been in the old times of which the stories told.

I would like to dwell longer on this book of Daniel, but I may here add only this, that one-half of it, that which we commonly call the Apocalypse, was not written in Aramæan, like the folk-tales, but in Hebrew, for with the revival of Judaism came the attempt to restore the ancient sacred language. But wisely did the great writer, whatever his name may be, we know not, combine the old folk stories, in the folk tongue, with the glorious spiritual meaning he put into them, with his new vision, written in the sacred language of his people, the beginning of that apocalyptic, or vision of the future, which in the Bible ends with the Revelation of Saint John the Divine. Daniel is a grand book!

## IV

## HEBREW PSALMODY

Recent New Testament criticism has tended, on the whole, strongly toward conservatism, the restoration of the old traditions of the authorship of the Gospels and of the Epistles of Saint Paul. These receive an early date in the latest literature on the New Testament. Its method of treatment of the text also tends to be scientific and careful, demanding objective evidence before making changes, refusing to yield to the fascinations of subjective speculation. The tendency of recent Old Testament criticism has seemed to be rather the opposite. There are, it is true, a number of voices raised in protest against the methods of the latter-day school of critics, but these, so far at least as sound is concerned, still seem to be in the majority. Their tendency is to divide up every book of the Old Testament into as many fragments as possible, to reject all traditions as worthless, and to substitute for them speculations of their own. Their treatment of the text is the treatment of subjective speculation. This one emends the text because he thinks that, at the day at which he supposes the words were written, the writer must have said something quite different; or because it does not correspond with his idea of proper outward form. If it is poetry, he knows the methods of He-

brew poetry, which he has evolved out of his brain and study, and he makes the Hebrew text fit his theory. Now this is, of course, a natural reaction against the extreme literalism of former ages. They accepted the evidence of any sort of tradition without investigation, and their treatment of the Hebrew Masoretic[1] text was that God had made his angels write the book in heaven and had personally seen to it that every dot and point was put in its proper place. The one extreme is as bad as the other. We used to be taught the dogma of an infallible text, and sacrosanct tradition to be accepted literally, and now we are in the reaction which resulted from that false extreme.

The book that has been the worst mishandled of all books in the Old Testament is the book of Psalms, and each succeeding commentator has surpassed in this his predecessors. But that is an exaggeration. I think the limit was reached by the late Professor Cheyne of Oxford, a most lovable, sweet Christian soul, a most distinguished scholar, whose mind was so acute and original that he could not be content with anything on earth, and invented new places for himself. His early work on the Psalms was good, but in his last book his translations are absolutely unidentifiable with the Psalms as you know them in English, or as I know them in Hebrew. He has substituted new coun-

[1] The Hebrew was written in consonants only. This was the Bible of the Greek translation and of the time of Christ. In the early Christian centuries the Hebrew scribes added the vowel points, and various notes and punctuations. These are known as the Masorah, and the Hebrew consonantal text with this Masorah added is the Masoretic text.

tries for those that are told of in the Bible, countries that no one but himself ever heard of, especially a certain Jerahmeel. Compare the translation in one of his earlier books of the first two or three lines of the second stanza of the 42d Psalm, with his latest translation taken from the imagined Psalms which he ultimately evolved out of the Psalter:

"My soul upon me is bowed down; therefore will I think upon Thee, from the land of Jordan and of Hermonim, from the little mountain.
Flood calls unto flood at the sound of thy cataracts, all thy breakers and billows have gone over me."

Here is the translation of the same from Cheyne's later revised text:

"Preserve me (O Yahwè) my God, | from the tribes of the Arabians,
From the race of the Jerahmeelites | rescue thou me.
Rouse thee, O God of my succour; | why dost thou forget me,
While I walk tremblingly, | the Arabians pressing me hard?"

Other recent commentators do not, however, stand so far behind. Professor Briggs, who did such notable work for Biblical scholarship in other fields, in his commentary in the International Series changed the text of practically every Psalm in the Psalter, and in many cases very considerably, partly because of his conception of psalmody and his theories of the date and occasion of the various Psalms, partly because he had evolved a scheme of Hebrew poetry with which the Psalms did not agree. Like a schoolmaster correcting

the exercises of his pupils, he calls up each Psalm in turn and corrects its poetry, not only excising words which will not fit into his scheme of measure, but mercilessly cutting off whole verses, or transposing their members, thus producing a machine-like evenness which will scarcely appeal to those who have loved the Psalms for their quaint and varied rhythm. He has made the text conform to the exigencies of his metrical system. Kent of Yale, who has put forth so many books which are so abundantly used in schools and colleges, has followed Briggs in some of the most objectionable features of his commentary in his book of *Songs, Hymns, and Prayers of the Old Testament.*

One radical error which we find in all these commentaries is the false conception of the purpose of the Psalter, as though it were a collection of poems by some court poet and not a collection of liturgies, chants, and hymns for the temple or synagogue services. So the critics have sought to attach each Psalm to some particular historical event, and have imagined some poet wandering off to this place or that and composing an effusion about the king or for the king, dealing with contemporary events. Take up your own church hymn-book and examine it. Take up the great chants of the Christian Church which have come down through the ages, the Te Deum, the Magnificat, the Nunc Dimittis, the Gloria in Excelsis. What sort of fate would they have if you treated them so? Luther's hymns or Wesley's hymns are magnificent hymns, yet you get no allusions in them to outside events. They are concerned with the soul of man and with the exigencies

of worship. This is the line from which one must examine the Psalter. Prophecies are concerned with outside events. You may feel sure that you have not comprehended your prophecy unless you have identified its connection with contemporary political, social, or economic events or conditions. With the Psalter the situation is exactly the reverse.

Again, these writers have failed to study and appropriate the great mass of ancient liturgies of a character and form very close to the Hebrew which have been unearthed in Babylonia in the recent years, and which throw a perfect flood of light on the outward form, the ritual use, the thought and ideas of our Hebrew Psalter. Let me take one single instance of complete misunderstanding resulting from this. These modern critics have brought the Psalter down to a very, very late period, and one of their grounds for dating it so late is the emphasis which it puts on the *poor* and *needy*. Israel is the pious, Israel is the poor, the needy, the humble. The heathen are the godless. The heathen are the rich and mighty. These conditions, said they, show a time when the Jews were a poor, petty people, downtrodden, and crying out of their humility and their need, developing piety in place of patriotism and relying on petitions to God rather than on force of arms.

Let me read you first a few lines from some hymns and prayers found in the Theban Necropolis dating from about 1350 to 1200 B. C., at, or before the time of Moses. The general spirit of these hymns, praying for deliverance from trouble caused by their own sins

and from the bondage resulting from those sins, setting forth the sweetness of the love and mercy of God, with an ardent desire to make this known to all men, reminds one much of our Psalms.

Amen-Re is the god addressed, "the lord to him that calls upon him," "who comes at the voice of the distressed humble one; who gives breath to him who is wretched." Hear now this prayer in which the petitioner, representing himself as an humble man, calls on Amen-Re:

> "Who comes at the voice of the humble man.
> I call upon thee when I am in distress:
> And thou comest that thou mayest save me:
> That thou mayest give breath to him that is wretched,
> That thou mayest save me that am in bondage."

Still much more striking is the resemblance in this regard of the old Sumerian liturgies and rituals to the Hebrew. Of the ritual we have evidence in a number of representations of the worshipping king approaching the god, on various seal cylinders and tablets. The god regularly sits upon his throne. The king, represented as a most lowly penitent and clothed accordingly, is brought before him by a priest who leads him by the hand. The liturgies for this ritual which have come down to us are very numerous. The petitioner, whoever he may be (and in many, if not in most cases, these liturgies are for royal suppliants), must identify himself with the poor, the needy, and afflicted, and designate himself as poor, needy, afflicted, and the like, when he comes as a suppliant to the god. On the

other hand, the enemy against whom he directs his prayer is regularly represented as the rich or mighty, precisely as in the Hebrew Psalms. How old this use is, which recent Psalm critics have called late, may be seen from the fact that the earliest penitentials of this sort that we possess date from somewhere about 3000 B. C. And we have such liturgies from that date until about 97 B. C., always in the same ancient church language, the Sumerian. These were copied from age to age, and we can detect little changes that were made from time to time. A liturgy originally intended for use in the shrine of Enlil at Nippur is made available for use in other shrines by the insertion of local or divine names appropriate to those shrines. The liturgy originally written for one god may be made appropriate for the service of another god in the same way. There are liturgies in which place is left to insert the name of some different or additional god; a number of gods are mentioned and then an *unknown* god or goddess. There were a number of scribes connected with each Babylonian temple, busy in obtaining, collecting, and transcribing liturgies for that temple, and the older the liturgy the more highly it seems to have been esteemed.

We have in one of our Psalms curious evidence, hitherto overlooked, that in the temple at Jerusalem the same loving care was expended on acquiring, copying, and transmitting liturgies. The 88th Psalm is peculiar in the whole Psalter, first because it has two headings, ascribing it to different authors or choir guilds, the Sons of Korah, and Heman the Ezrahite,

respectively, and designating it for different uses, the one, accompanied by the flute for making penance, and the other, for a form of responsive recitative much favored in Israel, called maskil; and secondly because it is the one pessimistic Psalm in the Psalter. Every other Psalm assumes a favorable answer to the petitions offered to God, and the acceptance of the sacrifice connected therewith. Moreover, this Psalm lacks organization. Regularly Psalms are developed after a certain general method, setting forth the troubles and disasters of the petitioner, indicating the enemy from whom they come, sometimes two or three times over and with less or greater detail, finally assuming the favor of God toward the worshipper, and acceptance of the sacrifice, with declaration of the same by the sacrificing priest; then perhaps a curse against the evildoers, with rejoicing of the petitioner for his deliverance, and at the end, and sometimes at other points, according to the number of sacrifices, outbursts of sacrificial shouts, followed by a benediction. In this Psalm, however, there is simply a continuous repetition of the woes of the petitioner, with no proper ending. When you come to the point where you expect to proceed to God's answer to the prayer, you find these words (8th verse, American Revision):

> "I am shut up and I cannot come forth."

Then starts another lamentation, the last verse of which closes thus: "Lover and friend hast thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance—darkness," which is both incomplete and grammatically unintelligible.

Now, "I am shut up and I cannot come forth" is, literally translated, "Finished, does not go on." That is the same sort of note, not in the same words, but expressing the same sense, which we find in Babylonian tablets where the tablet was broken or injured and the copyist could read no further. The text came to an end. The first eight verses are, in fact, a fragment of a Psalm. The second half is another fragment. The scribe came to the middle of a verse where his tablet or his manuscript was broken or defaced, he could decipher nothing further, and simply wrote "darkness," that is "unintelligible." But these two fragments of Psalms were lovingly preserved, carefully copied, and kept in the temple library at Jerusalem. The two fragments were copied on one tablet, or one sheet of papyrus, and the headings of both Psalms, with the musical directions and the designations of the choir guild from which they were derived, placed at the top. Old things were especially valuable and might not be thrown away. They might, however, be changed and adapted for new occasions, of which we find abundant evidence in the Hebrew Psalms as in the Babylonian.

Until those Babylonian liturgies were unearthed and translated, we had supposed that Hebrew poetry was quite *sui generis*. The characteristic mark of Hebrew poetry is not metre, in the sense of balanced verse with a certain number and order of syllables and quantities; it is not rhyme or alliteration, like the old Saxon; but what we call parallelism. The same idea is repeated in different forms, or different ideas are repeated

in the same form. That is the essential element of Hebrew poetry. You may find occasional rhyme, and occasional alliteration, or rather, assonance, *i. e.*, the juxtaposition and accumulation of the same or similar sounds. There is always, also, a rough beat, count; but those things are secondary and incidental. The essential element of Hebrew poetry is alliteration. The same thing is true of Babylonian and Assyrian poetry. Here are a few examples:

"If I put anything down, it is snatched away,
If I do more than is expected, who will repay me?"

"He has dug a well where no water is,
He has raised a husk without kernel."

"Does a marsh receive the price of its reeds;
Or fields the price of their vegetation?"

"The strong live by their own wages;
The weak by the wages of their children." [1]

These examples are not taken from Babylonian psalms, but from Babylonian proverbs, for the literature of Babylonia was in scope also curiously like the Hebrew literature which has come down to us in the Bible. They had a wisdom literature, like the Hebrew, consisting both of proverbs, like our book of Proverbs, and of problem discussions, like our book of Job. I have given these examples of poetic form from their proverbs rather than from their liturgies, because, while the poetry of the liturgies is identical in principle with the

[1] Barton, *Archæology and the Bible.*

poetry of the Hebrew Psalter, the resemblance is apt to be obscured by the introduction of ritual cries or rubrical notes, as also by the repetition *ad infinitum* of the names of gods and goddesses.

The ritual cries and the formulæ of the Babylonian liturgies are as strikingly similar to the Hebrew as is the form of the poetry. A marked characteristic of the old Sumerian hymns is the series of honorific names with which they frequently commence, those of Enlil, the great god of Nippur, being nine in number, fairly well conventionalized and traditionalized. Turn to one of the great and early Psalms of the Hebrew Psalter, the 18th Psalm, which appears also in a slightly variant form in the twenty-second chapter of the second book of Samuel, and observe how this begins with a succession of honorific names. Yahaweh is addressed as the suppliant's Rock, Fortress, Deliverer, God, Cliff, Shield, Horn of Salvation, High Tower, Refuge, Savior. Apparently here also there are nine honorific names; perhaps ten, but it is a little uncertain whether certain words are epithets of a name, or independent names. The object of this use of honorific names is clear to any one who is used to liturgical formulæ, for it is something that we have carried down in liturgies to our own time. I suppose the original thought was to appease the god who is addressed by telling of his glory and his honor, precisely as one might appease an earthly king. We have not probably that intention in our modern use, but it is a natural inclination to sing the praises of him whom we address, to "magnify" him, to use our common word. This Psalm is the most

conspicuous instance of the introduction of the petitions of the liturgy by the recital of numerous names or magnificent epithets of the deity and there is no other case where we have so many names put together, but a similar use is frequent in the Psalms, sometimes at the beginning of the whole, sometimes at the beginning of some new motive of the liturgy.

One striking minor liturgical phrase which is common to the old Sumerian psalms with the Hebrew, is the "How long," or, to use the fuller Sumerian phrase, "How long the heart." This is used in the Hebrew precisely as it is used in the Sumerian psalms. It belongs to a class of liturgies which Assyriologists have designated as penitentials. This was a well-understood liturgical formula of very ancient use, connoting in itself a whole phrase or thought. Hence in actual use it stands quite by itself, a mere cry, both in the Sumerian and in the Hebrew. The best instance of its ritual value in the Hebrew is Psalm 13, which commences with four "How longs." So characteristic of the penitential psalms was this cry that both Sumerian and Hebrew named them "How longs." We have an instance of this in the 74th Psalm (v. 9).

In the old Sumerian liturgies you frequently find a psalm commencing with a half verse, which is really the caption of the psalm, by which it was designated. Precisely the same is true of the Hebrew. You have a very striking instance of this in Psalm 68. That is a great triumph hymn, a processional liturgy, based on the old Ark song of the book of Numbers, picturing the march of Israel into and its conquest of Canaan.

Israel is, of course, called the poor, the lowly, the needy, the technical phrase which we have already noticed. In the eleventh verse we find these words (American Revision):

> "The Lord giveth the word;
> The women that publish the tidings are a great host,"

which are really a rubric directing the great host of women singers to sing at this point. Then follows a succession of lines, each one of which is intelligible in itself, but no one of which has any relation to what follows:

> "Kings of armies flee, they flee;
> And she that tarrieth at home divideth the spoil."
>
> "When ye lie among the sheepfolds."
>
> "The wings of a dove covered with silver,
> And her pinions with yellow gold."
>
> "When the Almighty scattered kings therein."
>
> "It snoweth in Zalmon."

These are the songs, five in all, which the rubric directs the women to sing, each being named by its first line, precisely as in the Sumerian psalmody, where we have also similar liturgical motives, and where liturgies were apt to consist of five psalms or songs.

The Sumerian psalms were associated also with the use of certain instruments of music, that is to say, some psalms are ordered to be accompanied by the flute, others by some other sort of instrument. The

headings of the Hebrew Psalms show us the same use, the flute for one Psalm, the harp for another, etc.

Other ritual notes, in both Sumerian and Hebrew Psalms, indicate the time and sometimes the nature of the sacrifice, with cries to God to show himself, to "lighten" upon them (that is, in the sacrificial fire), to "stand up," "stretch forth his arm," and much more. We find at the close of some of the Babylonian hymns reference to the offerings which are presented, evidently marking the point in the liturgy where those are to be presented, just as also in the Hebrew. There are other similar indications of various ritual acts, ablutions, prostrations, etc., in both. The 118th Psalm affords perhaps the best example from which to study ritual and liturgy together in the entire Psalter. It is a thank-offering hymn, and a great processional, as are many of the Babylonian liturgies, and as in those processional liturgies we are able to follow the ritual by the allusions, so are we also in this 118th Psalm. Beginning outside the temple, we can see how the procession proceeds from place to place and court to court, performing certain ritual acts, until finally they come to the high altar for the great sacrifice. The twenty-seventh verse reads: "The Lord is God and He hath given us light," which marks the kindling of the sacrificial fire. Then we have a rubric: "Bind the sacrifice with cords, even to the horns of the altar" (which is now recited or sung by us, as the case may be, as though it were a constituent part of the Psalm). Then a thank cry: "Thou art my God and I will thank thee; Thou art my God and I will exalt thee," followed by

the old ritual cry, to be used when the thank-offering victim was offered, which had come down from time immemorial: "Oh, give thanks unto the Lord for He is good, for His loving kindness is forever."

Time would not suffice to indicate all the points of resemblance between the Babylonian and Hebrew liturgies, such as the designation of God as Shepherd, Bull, Hero, and the like. More striking, perhaps, are certain of the spiritual resemblances such as are suggested in the phrase: "From the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun," or the use of word, or breath or wind, as the agent of action by God. But I do not want to burden you with too many details. I have already indicated how in the case of the great sacrificial processionals of the high feast-days comparison of the Babylonian liturgies has enabled us to identify the action and the accompanying ritual of the Hebrew, and the reverse is also the case, comparison with the Hebrew helps to determine the meaning and the action of the Babylonian hymns. This is true also of the penitentials. The 6th Psalm of our Psalter is the first of the Hebrew penitentials. It is almost identical in its method with the Babylonian penitentials, and indeed it was the ritual analysis of a Babylonian penitential by Jastrow in his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* that first gave me the clue to the Hebrew use. In both rituals the penitent and the priest alternate in their address, the penitent, as taught, setting forth his need, and the priest, as ritual expert, offering the correct prayers. The penitent comes before God, led by the priest, who expounds to

God why the penitent's confession and sacrifice should be accepted. In the Hebrew this goes on for seven verses, and you can determine pretty well the priest's part and the suppliant's part in it. Then comes the offering of the sacrifice, the acceptance of the same and the announcement of forgiveness. This is followed by a burst of praise and exultation, and that by the curse on the foes through whose wicked machinations calamity had been brought on the suppliant. In some of these rituals the parts, or at least the complaint, confession, and supplication, are repeated several times over in slightly variant form.

In the 7th Psalm, as the heading tells us, we have the liturgy to accompany the ritual for the unwitting sin (Lev. 4), that is, a penitential to be used where a man is stricken or afflicted in some way by sickness, or calamity of such sort as is evidence of the wrath of God, but cannot put his finger on anything which he has committed which could have caused such punishment. In both Babylonian and Hebrew we have liturgies for use to appease God in such case. Here also the man must make confession of sinfulness and offer an atonement, even though proclaiming that he knows not in what he has transgressed.

One more point of resemblance has recently come to my attention through the publication by Professor Barton of a number of Sumerian liturgies discovered at Nippur. The old Sumerian kings of Babylonia were deified. We have several hymns from the city of Ur, liturgies for the sacrifice offered to the deified king at his birthday, his accession day, or some such

occasion. Those hymns set forth incidentally the Sumerian idea of the obligations and duties of the king, and they are most strikingly like two Psalms of the Hebrew Psalter, the 72d and the 2d. These two Psalms were incorporated in the Psalter when the old Davidic hymn-book, 3–41, and the new Davidic collection of penitentials, 51–71, were joined together to constitute one great David psalm-book. Psalm 2 was prefixed as the introduction, Psalm 72 added as the conclusion of the new Davidic Psalter, the prayers of David Son of Jesse, thus formed. Both are what we call Messianic. The first of them almost deifies the ideal king there described. He is the great victor, he is the son of God, he is half, if not altogether, divine. The second describes the obligations and duties of the ideal king, how he is to bring prosperity to his land, and how he is to care for the poor and needy. We have both these things in those old liturgies to the kings of Ur.

I have spoken already of the way in which the Babylonians loved to preserve the ancient things, the ancient forms, which were kept through almost 3,000 years, the old names and old ritual expressions. You will find the same thing in the Hebrew. It is in the Psalms that you get the old names of the Almighty, and even in the very latest liturgies you find God addressed by his ancient and for all other purposes superseded name, Yahu.

I would not have you think that the Hebrew has simply borrowed in all this from the Sumerian, nor would I have you think Sumerian psalmody is on a plane with the Hebrew. As I said with regard to

Hebrew cosmogony, and Hebrew folk-lore, the spiritual differences are vastly greater than the outward resemblances. You have, it is true, Egyptian and Babylonian hymns of spiritual elevation and great beauty, in the former case referable to Ikhnaton, the reformer king, and monotheistic Sun-worshipper. Indeed you will find that heathen hymns of high spirituality are always addressed to the Sun-god. The worship of the Sun-god, for some reason, seems to have been the purest and the most exalted in ancient religions. But such hymns are very few and far between. The ordinary Babylonian hymns repeat over and over again the names and epithets of indefinite gods and goddesses. Unless you are looking for some little suggestions about ritual and worship, you will probably be bored or even repelled by most of them. You would say to yourself, "How foolish and how degrading"; but still more will you say this when you take the liturgies designed for the obscene sex cult of some of the great festivals, so gross, so disgusting their utterances would seem to you. The Hebrew Psalms are by general consent the greatest hymn-book ever written. Their wonderful power and spirituality have affected generations with greatly different religious conceptions and varied standards of civilization, and still they continue to be a power to uplift and to comfort men's souls. This, the really important side of Hebrew psalmody, I have not brought before you in this lecture. I have been trying to show you rather how to evaluate the Hebrew Psalter in relation to Hebrew history and the growth of Hebrew religion.

And now, what is the relation of Hebrew psalmody

to that ancient psalmody of the Sumerian Babylonians with which we have been comparing it? The resemblances are most striking, and yet it is not a case of a borrowing of the Hebrew from the Sumerian. In a former lecture I spoke to you about the inhabitants of Babylonia. The oldest civilization was that of the Sumerians, occupying southern Babylonia. They were the inventors of the script which we call cuneiform, in which all Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions are written. As I have pointed out, their name for temple was carried over into the Babylonian Semitic tongue, and appears as the name for temple, not only in Babylonia, but as far westward as Palestine. We have seen that their language remained the sacred church language in Babylonia and Assyria down almost, if not quite, to the beginning of our era; that their old psalms were sung in the temples and at the sacrifices in the old Sumerian tongue, which had long become not understandable by the people. The same is true of magic. The names of demons, and technical terms which we find in sorceries and incantations, go back to the Sumerian, just as in the case of the word temple. So we find, both in the Hebrew Bible and in later Jewish incantations, names and terms of Sumerian magic.

Sometime about, or a little before 3000 B. C., we find Semitic peoples pushing down into Babylonia and by the end of the next millennium, somewhat before 2000 B. C., we find that they have become the dominating people. The civilization which we call Babylonian, and the people which we call Babylonian, and the

*Photograph by Henry A. Ley.*

Synagogue of the Hasidim.

To left, Synagogue of the Hasidim, on western hill of Jerusalem, where the first stanza of Psalm 84 was sung before the start of the procession. (See page 163.)

religion which we call Babylonian, are a combination of the Semitic and the Sumerian, just as in Egypt we observed that the Egyptians and the Egyptian civilization are a compound. This civilization affected the whole west, because the west was Semitic. Its gods, its folk-lore, its legends, its myths were closely related to those of Assyria and Babylonia. Therefore the west land was peculiarly susceptible to influences from Babylonia. It both gave and took, until the same civilization and the same cult, with a difference of thickness, if I may so express it, varying shades of local color, were stretched over the whole region from the Persian Mountains to the Mediterranean Sea. That is the reason why we find such striking resemblances between Hebrew and Babylonian cosmogony, and that is the reason also why we find the same practices and methods of psalmody, even down to peculiarities of ritual expression, in Babylonia and in Israel.

When the Israelites entered Canaan some of these things must have been already familiar to them, part of their use, part of their cult, part of their civilization. Others they may have adopted from the Canaanites, for it is probable that the settled inhabitants would have customs and legends more closely akin to those of Babylonia than would the less cultivated nomadic, wandering Semites. When David set up the cult of the Ark, the imageless worship of God, represented only by the box containing the two tablets of stone, with the five words or commands, at Jerusalem, there must have been in existence in Israel liturgies and ritual forms—and among them some which had been handed down

from the desert days, in connection with the Ark. Indeed we have a record of two such in the book of Numbers. But, with the new cult which resulted from the establishment of the Ark at his capital as the great centre of religious life, David must have, of necessity, appointed priests and singers, and organized and developed a further especial ritual for this cult. At least, such a development began with him. With the building of the temple by Solomon the ritual assumed, of course, a more elaborate form, but so far, at least, as the songs were concerned, people always looked back to David as the originator of the Jerusalem ritual. Hence the title "of David" of psalms of the Jerusalem temple; although I think we may safely trust tradition that David was also himself a singer of songs and liturgies. What I mean to suggest to you is that so far from our Psalms not being ancient, we must even carry them back in rudiment before the time of David. He took what he found and improved upon it, developed it, and we can trace certain phrases and forms in those liturgies back to a time before David. When you see as the heading of a Psalm in the Psalter "of David," you may recognize this as the hall-mark of the Jerusalem temple. It means simply a Psalm of the Jerusalem hymnal, which hymnal went back in its origin to David, and, as I have already pointed out, in some things to a time before David. And this antiquity of the Psalms was what we might have expected if we had not been obsessed with false notions; for the oldest part of religion which has come down to us is the rites and the liturgies connected with those rites.

And now I want to confirm what I have derived from the old inscriptions from Babylonia, part of which I dug out myself in that most ancient and most honored of the temples of the olden time, the temple of Enlil at Nippur, by material of another sort, for the greater part not literary material produced by the spade, but material produced by travel, and investigation of conditions on the spot. The Psalms are full of local color, of local references, which have been overlooked, because, I think, travellers have not always travelled with the Psalms in mind. My attention was first called to these local notes in the Psalms when I was travelling back and forth along the river Euphrates. There come up before my mind, when I think of those days, the cliffs that fence in the narrow valley, often a couple of hundred feet in height, generally glaring white, but sometimes touched with a greenish hue or even painted red or yellow. Between these and the brown, swirling river are fields of grain or great meadows of wild licorice, and close to the water's edge grows the flowering tamerisk, ever and anon springing up in extensive jungles, the home of countless wild pigs, which no pious man may defile himself by eating. These jungles are likewise the lair of the dreaded lion, and many a night we heaped brush on the fire and kept strict guard to protect us from the king of beasts. As for the jackals, they were absolutely countless, and every night and all night long they wailed by our camps with that weird half-human cry that makes you think of goblin babies. In the river and along its shores the great monitor lizards, so often mistaken for croco-

diles, showed themselves, together with enormous turtles and huge antique fish, unknown to our waters. With what apprehension we used to see the black goat or camel hair tents of the Bedouin Arabs pitched on the plateau above the river and stretching, it might be, several miles. It always was a question whether we should come out without paying blackmail. We were equally afraid of the Shammar Arabs of the north, the Meshech of Hebrew times, and the Anazeh Arabs of the southern shore, the Kedar of Hebrew thought. I can see now how the links of the caravan would close up and the stragglers hurry forward, and no one felt secure until the Arab camp had been left far behind. How well I remember being ambushed beyond one of these camps. "When I spoke peace, they were for war." And then the march—the bitter cold of the nights, for we and all caravans must start before dawn; and the burning heat of the day before we reached our halting place. As soon as the sun was up the heat began; as soon as the moon arose it was bitter cold. And then the dreariness of the absolutely level plain. What a joy it was to see the hills rising before us. In marching from Babylonia toward the west the sight of the hills meant home, safety, comfort, things to which we were used. But all that is pictured in the pilgrim Psalms of the Hebrews, 120–134. Each is headed, you remember, "Song of degrees,"—at least that is the heading in the King James Version,—which means song of going up, pilgrim song.

Listen and see how the first of those Psalms tells of conditions such as I have described:

*Photograph by Henry A. Ley.*

The Temple courts.

Present-day view of the Temple courts, where the sparrow found a house and the swallow a nest (Psalms 84:3), looking down from the Western Hill (See page 181.)

"Lord, deliver me from the lying lip, from the deceitful tongue.
Arrows of the mighty sharpened,
With coals of broom;
Woe is me that I sojourned in Meshech,
Abode among the tents of Kedar.
Long time I dwelt with the haters of peace;
When I would speak peace, they were for battle."

And it always was a long time. I could travel twice as fast or three times as fast as those old pilgrims from Babylonia to the feast at Jerusalem, but it took me a month or more.

Or hear this; it makes me think of our guards by night, how we would set guards, and how I have wakened and found every guard sound asleep:

"May He not suffer thy foot to be moved.
May he not slumber that keepeth thee.
Behold! the keeper of Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."

Oh! how we did long for and need a guard like that!

"The Lord is thy keeper,
The Lord thy shade on thy right hand;
The sun shall not hurt thee by day,
Neither the moon by night";

when we were scorched by day, and frozen by night. Again, from the Psalms this cry:

"I lift up mine eyes to the hills.
Whence cometh my help?
My help is from the Lord,
Maker of heaven and earth."

Those Psalms have been a part of my experience ever since, simply because I traversed time and again the

same route that the pilgrims of the Captivity used to traverse going up to the feasts at Jerusalem, saw and felt everything the same as they did. Naturally my conclusion was: those Psalms were written by and for the pilgrims from the Captivity to Jerusalem at the great feasts—the Captivity, you will remember, was the term used by the Jews, not only for those who were actually captives in Babylonia during the Exile, but for the Jews that remained in Babylonia after the Exile for centuries—and this conclusion I arrived at not only from personal observation and experience of such local references, but also from a study of the language of those Psalms in connection with my study of the Babylonian language. There are certain peculiarities in those Psalms which can be explained only from Babylonian. Not merely are there certain uses of prepositions and the like, which contravene the regular use of Hebrew grammar and syntax, but there are actually two or three passages which cannot be translated from Hebrew, at least intelligibly, but which instantly become intelligible when you read them over into Babylonian.

The next thing I noticed in the way of local reference was in the 89th Psalm. In the twelfth verse of that Psalm occur these words:

> "North and south Thou has created them—
> Tabor and Hermon rejoice in Thy name."

Clearly that could have been written only by a man who had as landmarks of north and south the great Mount Hermon, and the conspicuous, but not so lofty

Tabor. Where was that? Up by the sources of the Jordan, the site of the ancient temple of Dan. Turning to the 42d Psalm, I found that all commentators were agreed that this must have been written by some one at the source of the Jordan. They were inclined to fancy that it was a Levite from Jerusalem, wandering through that region, or a captive with Nebuchadrezzar's army. Surely a very strange proposition!

These Psalms are called Psalms of the Sons of Korah. Now the story in the book of Judges of the establishment of Dan in that locality tells how the children of Dan, moving from their original site at the edge of the Philistine plain, as one goes down from Jerusalem to Joppa, carried off from the house of an Ephraimite his Levitical priest, his images and all his paraphernalia of worship, and took them with them to Dan, and the story says that this priest was a grandson of Moses, and therefore, according to the Levitical genealogies, a son of Korah. As one reads further in the collections of Psalms of the Sons of Korah, one observes, if one is familiar with the country, further local references, which apply only to that region. So Psalm 46 becomes really intelligible only as one sees in it a reflection of the physical conditions of that country. Finally I said to myself: "Why, these must have been originally a part of the hymnal of the temple of Dan"; a conclusion which is supported further by the references in those Psalms to Jacob and Israel, not Judah, and by the use in them of the regular Israelite or Samaritan title for God, quite different from the Judean title.

The more I read the Psalms, the more I felt that, having made two visits to Palestine, I must make still a third for the special purpose of camping, as it were, on the sacred sites of Israel, and seeing what the Psalms meant to me there. Permit me to say that I did not start on this investigation with theories ready made. In my earlier writings I accepted the theories in vogue with regard to the Psalms. It was my investigations which upset the theories I had accepted from others, and drove me to an absolutely different view, a view which ultimately came into complete harmony with the results obtained from my study of the Babylonian rituals.

Jerusalem was the great impregnable fortress of Canaan in the historic period. You will remember how, when David desired to annex the Jebusite enclave of Jerusalem, which separated Judah from all the rest of Israel, the Jebusites laughed at him. They said: "Our town is so strong that the blind and lame can defend it." It was situated on a hump or swelling of a narrow ridge of rock. On the east and on the west this descended into deep ravines. Southward it fell away more gradually, but in terrace-like ramparts easy to defend. Northward, below the hump or swelling, was a relatively level narrow ridge, and then rose another swelling and another. On all sides were points from which you could overlook the Jebusite fortress, but no point from which with the weapons of those days you could dominate it. The only point relatively difficult of defense was the north side. That alone had to be walled with a very strong high wall. Further-

more, at the foot of the hill on the east was an intermittent spring, the only living water about Jerusalem. The strength of one of those old fortresses depended on its abundant supply of water. If it had water and there was no other water about, any besieger would be defeated by nature. If he could not take the city by storm, and Zion could easily be made so strong that that was impossible, he would have to withdraw, for they had no methods of siege and of maintaining an army in those days and in those places such as we have now. They only made war during the periods when it was not raining. Now this spring at the foot of the Jebusite hill, Zion, had been walled in on the outside, and a tunnel cut into the rock long before the time of David, and a shaft brought up to the surface within the wall, so that, while no one could get at the fountain from without, the people in the city could always have an abundant supply of water. Hence the scoff at David. The book of Samuel tells how he offered a reward, as kings did in those days, of a position in the kingdom almost equal to his own to the man who would take that city for him; how Joab found where the spring was; how he contrived to get in; how he climbed up that "gutter," as it is called in our translations, and took the impregnable city.

David and Solomon extended the old Jebusite city northward to the next swelling or Zion, and on that Solomon built his temple. Underneath this were excavated a vast number of cisterns of enormous size, which still contain water, and at some period also, we do not know when, water was brought in from distant

sources by underground pipings. By and by the city grew over onto the western hill of Jerusalem, and then, apparently in Hezekiah's time, a tunnel was cut right through that eastern hill, where David's city was, to bring the water of the Virgin's well into the valley between the two hills. But always it was Zion, either the original Zion of David's fortress or the new Zion of the temple, that was the central point of strength of the city. The other or western hill could not be defended in the same way.[1]

I spoke in a former lecture of the way in which Isaiah proclaimed the invincibility of the God of Zion. In the account of the Assyrian invasion you see that Sennacherib could not take the city by storm; and the army that he sent against it had to withdraw. That was a proof of the mighty strength of Jerusalem; and when Sennacherib's army was driven out of the country by plague, the final proof was given of the invincibility of the God of Zion. Now, the Psalms of the first book of the Psalter, which was the first Jerusalem hymnal, the first Davidic hymnal, are full of the invincibility of this Zion; of God, the Rock, the Strength, the Tower, the Fortress, the Refuge; of the enemy overrunning the land only to be compelled to retire. That Psalter is vivid with this, and the more familiar I became with underground Jerusalem, the more the city of the old days was brought before my

[1] We gain some idea of the strength of David's city, the Acra of the Maccabean time, when we read in Maccabees of the Syrian garrison which maintained itself there for twenty years after the rest of Jerusalem had been taken by the Jews.

*Photograph by Henry A. Ley.*

Spring of Robinson's Arch.

Here was the bridge or causeway over the Tyropœon Valley crossed by the procession. Psalms 84 : 5. (See page 162.)

eyes by study of the excavations, the rock contours and the like, the more I realized the local color of those Psalms. And not only I. When I presented this to archæologists who had an even greater familiarity than I with the ancient conditions, who had succeeded in restoring and upbuilding in mind the ancient city, they responded at once. They felt the local color.

Well, to make a long story short, Psalms 3–41 are clearly from old Jerusalem, before the Exile. The Psalms of Asaph, namely 50 and 73–83, and the Psalms which we sometimes call the Prayers of David son of Jesse, 51–72, have also local color, by which the former can be located at Bethel, and the latter at Shechem. Ultimately, after the fall of Samaria (721 B. C.), Psalms of the temples of Israel; Shechem, Dan, and Bethel were brought to Jerusalem and used in the temple there. Some of these were taken over almost in the form in which they had existed in the shrines of Israel; others were greatly changed, and I shall conclude this lecture by giving you one specimen of such a change.[1]

The collection which we know as the Psalms of the Sons of Korah consists of Psalms 42–49. Those were taken over almost unchanged; but there is a supplementary collection of Korah Psalms, 84–89, which had a very different history. In these for the old divine name of Israel, Elohim, was substituted the divine name of Judah, Yahaweh. In some cases whole

[1] For detailed proof of much above stated about the Psalms, too lengthy and too technical for presentation here, I must refer the reader to my book *The Psalms as Liturgies.*

stanzas were remodelled to adapt them for some new ritual use in Jerusalem. A good example of all this we find in the first Psalm of this collection, 84. Originally this was a companion piece to 42–43. Here, as there, at the close of each of the three stanzas there was a sacrifice, the sacrifice at the close of the last stanza being at the high altar. Accordingly the first and second stanzas each have at the end a *selah*, an indication of a great outburst of trumpet-blowing and the like at the sacrificial moment, and the first and third end with a chorus. The second stanza as we now have it in our English translation (and the same is partly true of the Hebrew) is quite unintelligible. The translators have taken very great liberties with the text, giving words meanings which they nowhere possess. Nevertheless, they have not been able to make it intelligible, as all commentators agree. When I was struggling with this stanza in my room in a hotel in Jerusalem, as I had struggled with it many times before, and was utterly in despair, it occurred to me to translate it literally. Now, if you will look at verses five and following in the English translation, you will see what it was that I encountered. The second half of the fifth verse (American Revised) reads: "In whose heart are the highways *to Sion*," "to Sion" being in italics to show that it is not in the text. The literal meaning of this verse is "Between them the bridge," or causeway. The next verse reads in the American Revision: "Passing through the valley of weeping they make it the place of springs." Not so far wrong. Literally it is, however: "In the valley of weeping the fountain that

*Photograph by Henry A. Ley.*

The pool of Siloam (Siloam), which the leader was to encircle. Psalms 84 : 6. (See page 165.)

Behind this, to the right of the minaret, is "the fountain." David's city was to the right and above.

was made." The second half of that verse is absolutely hopeless in the English: "Yea, the early rain covereth it with blessings." There is no "Yea," there is no word which by any chance can mean "early rain." There is no word that means "covereth." It *would* be possible to make out of the last word "blessings." The actual reading is this: "The pool the leader encircleth." The first part of the seventh verse, "They go from strength to strength," is literally, "From rampart to rampart they go"; and the latter part, which is translated, "Every one of them appeareth before God in Zion," actually means, "The God of Gods is seen in Zion."

Now, having translated this literally there in Jerusalem, it dawned on me for the first time what it was that I had actually before my eyes, rubrics directing where the sacrificial procession should go, and, as I sat, I saw the whole thing before me from the first stanza on. I could locate just the spot on the higher western hill, looking down into the courts of the temple, across the valley of the Tyropœon, indicated in stanza 1, "How lovely are Thy courts," where the sparrow findeth a home, and the swallow maketh a nest. Down below and across the valley you still see the countless swallows flying, and the sparrows finding a home, just as in that day. So I knew where the service began, where the first sacrifice was offered, looking down to the altar of God and his sanctuary in the courts spread out below. From the western hill to the eastern hill of Zion ran at this point a causeway or bridge, and one can still see the spring of one of the

arches of the ancient bridge of Herod's time. The processional started, all clapping their hands and stamping their staves, precisely as processionals do to-day in Jerusalem, to get the rhythm, singing, "Happy he whose strength is in Thee." One such verse will suffice for quite a long march. From time to time probably voluntaries were added, but this was the verse officially provided for this procession. The rubric directed the procession to "Cross the causeway between the two hills." When they had done so, they came to the road leading down to the right by the side of David's city into the valley of weeping, the ancient place of burial, just where the rubric directs them to go. In Hezekiah's time, as already stated, a tunnel was carried under the hill on which David's city stood, the hill of Ophel, to bring water from the Virgin fountain on the other side into the interior of the city, which had now grown across the valley of the Tyropœon and up onto the western hill. The point at which the water pours out of that tunnel is called to-day "fountain," a word regularly applied only to a spring springing up out of the ground. Here the water *seems* to spring out of the ground, and so this also is called "fountain," albeit a fountain made by man, not by God. The road goes past this fountain, and so the rubric says: "By the fountain which was made."

Below that is the pool of Siloam, so called in antiquity and so called to-day, and for both fountain and pool the names actually in use to-day among the Arabic-speaking population of Jerusalem are identical in form

*Photograph by Henry A. Ley*

From rampart to rampart, Psalms 84 : 7. (See page 163.)

The point where the procession turned northward up Zion's hill. To the left is "the pool" and beyond that "the fountain"

with those used by the Hebrews in antiquity. The names have been taken over just as they stood. This pool of Siloam does not receive water from the tunnel under the rock. The surplusage of that water is carried out by a rock-cut passage to the east of the pool. The pool of Siloam received the surface water from the valley. It was quite large, filling most of the bed of the valley, and to pass around it you must make a circuit to the right. One would have done exactly the same thing in the olden time, because there is no other possibility; so here we have the rubric, "The leader (of the procession) encircles the pool."

That brought the procession to the foot of the scarped rock at the southern extremity of the hill of Ophel, up which goes the street to the old David's city, facing the entrance. The hill rises from scarp to scarp, and you can still see the remains of some of the fortifications which once made of it such a strong fortress. Recent excavations have made evident the highest scarp, at the southern end of the citadel, David's fortress, immediately above the Virgin's spring. Whoever will make that route will realize the meaning of "from rampart to rampart they go." So they come to the southern entrance to the temple, even in Herod's time the great entrance for the festival processions. The arrival at the entrance is indicated by the note: "The God of Gods is seen in Zion," and then at the temple threshhold the choir bursts out with the cry: "Lord, God of Hosts, hear my prayer, hearken, God of Jacob," after which appears the selah, indicating the sacrificial outbursts with which this stanza closes.

The chorus, by the way, still shows the old Danite origin of the Psalm, but the stanza itself, which must once have been fitted for a processional to the Dan temple, has been eliminated, and these rubrics put in its place telling of the route of the processional, and containing what was needed for a marching song.

Now the following concluding stanza also becomes quite intelligible. It begins with a cry to God to behold the face of the anointed king, for this was a liturgy of the royal sacrifice, and then, as the worshippers throw themselves on their faces on the ground at the threshhold of the temple courts, the chorus of Levites sings:

> "For better a day in thy courts than an army.
> I had rather be a threshold in God's House
> Than a fortress in the cities of the godless."

The next verse indicates in a somewhat similar way another ritual act as the procession advances toward the altar, *viz.*, the purification, which takes place immediately before the sacrifice:

> "God refuseth no good to those who walk in cleanness."

Then with the sacrifice comes the final chorus:

> "Lord of hosts, happy he who trusteth in Thee."

I was a bit inclined to think I had gone mad; that I had become a visionary and was seeing things that were unreal. I got up and went down and made the procession. It was absolutely convincing, and yet why had no one ever seen it? How was it possible it had

*Photograph by Henry A. Ley.*

Recent Jewish excavations.

David's citadel was by houses on right. In foreground, recent Jewish excavations. In background, wall of Temple area, where they beheld God in Zion, Psalms 84:7. (See page 163.)

been overlooked? I distrusted my conviction. It chanced that a distinguished Jewish scholar came to call on me. I began to read him the Psalm, telling him what I thought I had found. He, an American by birth, trained in a German university, an admirable scholar of Hebrew, now getting actual and not book impressions of Jerusalem, quickly saw the point, so that I did not have to recite the whole. Attention once called to it, it was so clear that he could chant it to me in the correct form. Before his visit was over, the most distinguished Jerusalem archæologist in the world, Father Hugues Vincent, of the Dominican fathers, came in. We had shared finds before and asked one another's counsel. I told him I had something to lay before him, took him into my room, handed him the Hebrew Bible and proceeded to give him my translation and exposition. It was not all needed. It was as clear to him as it had before been to my Jewish friend, and first of all to me. Afterward I took many plainer scholars, but intelligent Bible readers over this route, making the processional in full form. I believe that every one who tried it was convinced, and when he reads that Psalm will always in memory make that pilgrimage and see, as he does so, the old temple choir and hear the old temple chant.

## V

## THE EXPLORATION OF PALESTINE

We Americans may boast with some pride that the scientific exploration of Palestine was begun by us. Professor Edward Robinson of Union Seminary, New York, the leading Hebrew scholar of his time in the United States, went to Palestine in 1838, with a missionary of the American Board, Reverend Eli Smith, then stationed at Beirout. Missionaries have ever been pioneers in exploration. The Bible scholar by himself could never have accomplished such great results. Smith had the language, Smith had acquaintance with the natives by which he could make arrangements for travel and abode. Robinson had the technical knowledge. It was a combination of the two that produced results. Their equipment was small—a compass, a telescope, a thermometer, a measuring tape, and, above all, a Bible. Eli Smith talked with the natives. He could get from them their traditions about places, learn the names which they gave to those places and pronounce and spell them properly. Robinson's trained intellect saw behind the present forms of those names their correspondence with the old Hebrew names. His scientific and thorough acquaintance with his Bible helped him in this, and helped him also in the understanding of the meaning of such traditions as Smith reported. He made a second trip

in 1858 to confirm and enlarge, after some years of quiet study at home, his former results, the material he had first collected and which he had already in part published. The result was his three large volumes of *Bible Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa,* which are to this day an indispensable part of the equipment of every Palestinian scholar.

It was about midway between Doctor Robinson's first and second visits that the United States sent out a second modest little expedition. Lieutenent W. T. Lynch of the United States Navy was detailed, in 1848, to explore the Dead Sea, and was given as companion a geologist, Doctor Anderson. It was a very adventurous trip and a very dangerous one. They got two little metal boats across to the Sea of Galilee, floated down the Jordan in those and in them navigated the Dead Sea, the shores of which were occupied by as thoroughgoing a set of rascals and cutthroats as existed in the world. Lynch was the only *Frank* for many years who went into and came out of the town of Kerak, the ancient Kir Hareseth of Moab, on a high mountain southeast of the Dead Sea, without paying a ransom. Many years later, in 1890, I attempted to go to Kerak, but found that if I did so I might be held prisoner indefinitely, or until some one ransomed me. In fact, when I declined to go under such circumstances, the Arabs made an attempt to kidnap me and carry me there by main force. Pardon the digression. Lynch's method of avoiding the ransom was very simple, but there were not many men who would have had the hardihood and the nerve to plan and carry it through.

He put a revolver at the head of the chief of the town and marched him out in front of him!

It was the interest aroused by this work, especially that of Robinson, which led the English to organize in 1865 a Palestine Exploration Fund, and it was able to engage in its employ several men who won great distinction in later English history, for English soldiers, perhaps more than those of any other country, have been Bible enthusiasts, such men as Gordon and Kitchener. Other famous names on the list of the men whom the Palestine Exploration Fund employed are Sir Charles Warren and Sir Charles Wilson. When the Fund was organized, the latter of these had just completed a survey of Jerusalem as part of a plan for bringing water into the city as a gift from Baroness Burdett Coutts. Unfortunately, the jealous Turkish Government did not permit this to be done, and it required at last the world war to bring water from Solomon's pools and beyond to Jerusalem by underground conduits, as it used to be brought in the time of Christ and we know not how much earlier. Sir Charles Warren was engaged by the Palestine Exploration Fund to make excavations following up Wilson's work. In those days, when one thought of Palestine, one thought of Jerusalem. That was the goal of all efforts, and, unfortunately, it is about the most difficult place to explore in all the world. That Sir Charles Warren was able to make some investigations of the temple hill under the ground, and he had to do it underground, was due to the fact of the peculiar relation in which at that time England still stood to Turkey, as a

result of the Crimean War. Even at that, it was a difficult and dangerous task, partly because of the fanaticism of the people, partly because the work had to be done at great depths underground, and in masses of débris which were continually slipping and sliding, so that even shoring was uncertain. One conduit was discovered because the excavators fell down a hole and landed in it; the same manner, by the way, in which many years later a Greek priest discovered the tomb of Mariamne, Herod's wife, outside of Jerusalem to the west.

Until very recently it was impossible to supplement Warren's explorations of the temple hill, which gave us chiefly a knowledge of the contours of the ground, showing us that the original valleys of Jerusalem are filled up with great masses of débris. So the bottom of the retaining walls of the great haram platform, which roughly occupies the place of the old temple platform of Herod's day, descended in places over a hundred feet beneath the present accumulation of ruins and rubbish. The Kidron valley, so dear to every lover of Jesus, proved to be not only in part buried, but the brook which now runs through it, in the rainy season only, is many feet eastward of its position in Jesus' time.

Along with these excavations went the survey of Palestine, the object of which was to make a complete and authoritative map of Palestine on a scale of one mile to the inch, combining with it a description of all archæological remains of antiquity above ground. This was not completed until 1880. America, which

had commenced the work of exploration, was asked to join with England in this survey, and an American Palestine Exploration Society was formed, to which was assigned eastern Palestine. Unfortunately, through bad management and lack of support, in spite of the high character and scholarship of some of the men employed, the Americans achieved nothing, and our society soon went out of existence. Later, the survey of eastern Palestine was taken up, partly by the Germans, partly by the English, and finally completed just before the late war.

One result of this survey has been the mapping of Palestine in a way in which no other country is mapped. One can obtain a cast of Pealestine from the Palestine Exploration Fund, a huge relief map, giving every detail of the contour, and the ordinary person for a very small price can obtain English and German maps which give all the details that in other countries are only to be gotten at a very large price and through special influence from the Ordnance Department. How valuable this work of mapping was may be shown by the fact that it was Sir George Adam Smith's map and his Geography of Palestine on the basis of which Allenby planned his famous campaign in the late war. Along with these wonderful maps, the Palestine Exploration Fund published also a number of huge volumes of memoirs, giving the names of all places found, equating them more accurately than had been done heretofore with the names contained in the Bible, locating all visible antiquities, giving levels, geological formations, watersheds, and more.

To this period belong also certain interesting discoveries of inscriptions. Inscriptions and figures of King Seti I, and his son Ramses II, of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, were found in the Hauran, confirming the accounts contained in Egyptian inscriptions of their conquests and their rule in Palestine. A German missionary, Klein, found in 1868, across the Jordan, at the ancient Diban of Moab, an inscribed stele. The French and the Prussians fell to fighting about the right to this. The Arabs thought that it must be full of treasure, and by way of getting at that built fires against it to make it brittle, and then broke it with stones. At last the French acquired possession, and it now stands in restored form in the Louvre. By good luck Klein had taken a squeeze of the inscription so that that was not altogether destroyed by the unamicable quarrels of the Christian nations, combined with the greed of the treasure-seeking Moslem Arabs. This is the famous Moab stone, the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, shortly after the time of Ahab, the oldest inscription of any size in the Phœnician alphabet known to exist. Historically it is very valuable as giving us a side light on the relations of Moab and Israel, amplifying and confirming the Bible; linguistically, as showing that the Moabite and the Hebrew languages were practically identical, as we might have supposed from the Bible story; and religiously, as our only record of the religion of Moab. The Moab stone belonged to about the middle of the ninth century before Christ.

It was in 1882 that the first inscription of any size

in the Hebrew language was found, from a date over one hundred years later. This discovery was due, not to the genius or acumen of archæologists, but to the ubiquitous small boy. A couple of lads had gone into the mouth of the tunnel which brought the water from the Virgin spring under the hill of Ophel into the interior of the old city. Fingering around on the walls, they found marks, which they reported to Schick, a German architect and the engineer of the Jerusalem municipality. He examined the tunnel and found that there was in fact an inscription there. This is the so-called Siloam stone. The inscription was made by the workmen who cut the tunnel through the rock in Hezekiah's time.

Perhaps I may be permitted a brief digression to tell the further history of this stone. Doctor Cyrus Adler was sent by the United States, in preparation for the Chicago Exposition of 1893, to arrange for exhibits from Turkey. I was at that time in Constantinople, engaged in working over our finds from Nippur, and my relations with the museum and the archæological authorities of Turkey were friendly and intimate. Visiting Jerusalem, Adler was shown in the house of a Greek, by the Greek's wife, in the absence of her husband, certain antiquities, and to his great surprise among them was the rock-cut inscription from the Siloam tunnel and along with it a facsimile replica of the same. The Greek had had the inscription cut out of the rock, with the connivance of the authorities, and was in negotiation with foreign museums for its sale. He intended to make a good job of it, apparently,

by selling replicas to a number of different museums as originals, for without having the original stone to compare with it would have been almost impossible for any museum to discover such a fraud. Doubtless the fraud would have been discovered, but only after some years, when the various museums ventured each to put their illegitimately acquired treasure on exhibition. Adler wrote to me in Constantinople, stating where the stone was, and suggesting that I use my influence to have the imperial authorities issue a peremptory order to the governor of Jerusalem to deliver both stones to the museum at Constantinople, the original Siloam inscription and also the duplicate. Telegraphic orders went to the governor of Jerusalem the next day. His Excellency the governor of Jerusalem was shocked at finding that such a wicked thing had happened in Jerusalem. The poor Greek, I presume, suffered, but the governor certainly did not obtain his share of the profits. The stone arrived at Jerusalem while I was still there, and the director of the museum, as a special honor, when the original inscription was unboxed, asked me to select a place for it in the museum and to put it in that place with my own hands. I did so. It was a pretty heavy job, being all that I could do to lift the stone. The story has one further sequel. When I was in Jerusalem in 1919–20 the Zionist authorities, who are anxious to establish in Jerusalem a museum which shall contain all antiquities from Palestine, asked me, as I had been instrumental in placing the Siloam stone in Constantinople, now to co-operate in securing its return, that it might be

placed in the new museum in Jerusalem. I understand that this is to be done.

One more important inscription was found of the New Testament period, and in Greek, by Clermont Ganneau, who performed a very valuable work of exploration in the employ of the Palestine Exploration Fund. In a Mohammedan graveyard in the Mohammedan quarter within the walls of Jerusalem, north of the haram enclosure, Ganneau found, used as a tombstone, an inscribed slab. On examination it proved to be one of the inscriptions from the low barrier wall which had divided the court of the Gentiles from the court of the Jews in Herod's temple. It was a notice to any Gentile who entered the court of the Jews that he did so at the risk of his life, a confirmation of information that had come down to us that no Gentile, even though he were a Roman subject, would be protected if he entered that enclosure. The Jews under Roman rule were permitted to preserve many of their peculiar customs, including the sanctity against Gentile contact of the temple precincts, the supposed violation of which by Paul almost resulted in his death and did result in his imprisonment in Caesarea and later in Rome.

Another inscription, very recently discovered, as a result not of scientific exploration, but almost by accident, in some of the various diggings on the hill of Ophel, David's old city, without the walls of the haram enclosure, tells us that there was at this point, in the first Christian century, a synagogue of Libertines, and connected with it a hospice for the entertainment of

Libertines visiting Jerusalem for the feasts. This proprietary or hereditary synagogue, for such it would seem from the inscription to have been, may have been the Synagogue of the Libertines referred to in the book of Acts.

Furthermore, on the so-called tomb of James, in the valley of the Kidron, there is an inscription in square Hebrew characters from which we learn that this tomb belonged to one of the priestly families, and it would seem, from this inscription, that this and the kindred tombs, known as the pillar of Absalom and the tomb of Zachariah, must have been in existence in the time of Christ, and frequently passed by him on his way up and down the Kidron valley to the water gate. These are the few inscriptions of any importance which have been discovered in Palestine, all of them, as it will be observed, the result of accident. Excavations have, unfortunately, not been productive of inscriptions.

Systematic excavation in Palestine began in the year 1890 when, after a period of quiescence, the Palestine Exploration Fund resolved to renew and enlarge its activities. Petrie, who had just begun to win his laurels in Egypt, was called to examine the mound of Tel Hesi, on the edge of the Philistine plain, some twenty miles or so back of Gaza. This mound rose about 150 feet above the plain at the bend of a stream, and sixty feet of this proved to be an accumulation of débris of the ancient city of Lachish. Petrie spent but a very brief time here, simply scraping down, as it were, the mound on its highest and most exposed side, but he succeeded from that brief examination in giving

us a pretty good picture of the history of the place, and laying the foundations of our later understanding of the story of the pottery of Palestine. It must be understood that in Palestine, as in Egypt and Greece, almost the best record of dates, where there are no inscriptions, is obtained from the pottery, and not only the best record of date, but of locality also. Explorers are able to determine the commercial relations of a town by the potsherds found there, pottery carrying in a peculiar degree the personal stamp of its makers. Bliss, an American, followed Petrie at Lachish and cut out a sort of a quarter section of the mound, much as one cuts a piece out of a pie, and examined it. We were all looking and hoping for the discovery of inscriptions, of course. He did, indeed, find one inscribed tablet, the first found in Palestinian soil. It proved to be from the Egyptian government to the king of Lachish, a part of that same correspondence of which the other end was found at Tel el-Amarna in Egypt in 1888. This record, like those tablets, was written in the cuneiform script and the Babylonian language. Bliss's excavations showed us that in such a city as Lachish we had to deal with a place much older than the Hebrew conquest, and to this extent his excavations confirmed the Egyptian records from which we had learned already that almost all the well-known cities of Palestine were in existence as Canaanite cities hundreds of years before the Hebrews appeared upon the scene, and that places which later became Hebrew shrines and sanctuaries possessed the same character in the Canaanite period. The excavations at Lachish were never fin-

ished; only a small piece of the town was excavated and then, following the mistaken policy resulting from the great desire to explore Jerusalem, Bliss was transferred to that city, where he determined the line of some of the ancient walls to the south of the present city.

It was not until 1898 that excavations in excavatable sites were again undertaken. And here again the mistake was made of digging a little here and a little there, of not undertaking one of the great and promising Israelite sites, but selecting rather small and relatively unimportant sites, not on true Israelitic territory, but in the border-land of the Shephelah, a low line of hills between Judea and Philistia. The sites examined were the ancient Azekah, Tel es-Safi, which may be the Philistine Gath or the Hebrew Libnah, Tel el-Judeideh, and the ancient Marissa, the home city of the prophet Micah. The results of this work were, on the whole, disappointing. They gave us information principally about the pre-Israelitic and post-Israelitic inhabitants of that territory where the principal excavations were conducted. At Marissa, Bliss unearthed a city of the Seleucidan period, just reaching but not exploring the Hebrew town beneath.

These excavations set going an immense amount of illicit digging. The natives, discovering that there was a demand for antiquities, showed a skill in discovering ancient cemeteries far beyond that of the scientific explorer. I might add that the great enemy of archæology and of the study of antiquity is the collector of antiquities, the man who is eager to obtain relics for some collection. It is less sinful when the

collection is a museum collection, but the museums also have been great sinners against scientific research in this matter. It is collectors who tempt the natives to violate the laws in searching for and selling antiquities; unfortunately, for one antiquity gotten in this way means a hundred that are destroyed. Moreover, an antiquity so found can never be made to tell its full story. To do that one must know its exact *provenance*, where it was found, in connection with what else, and the like. I shall never forget the picture of destruction which I saw when I visited the site of ancient Marissa a year after Bliss's excavations at that place. For at least two miles up and down the large valley westward of Marissa the ground was honeycombed with pits and holes, and similar pits and holes ran up the little valleys on both sides of the great valley. How many hundreds of graves had been unearthed, how many objects had been destroyed, I do not know.

Doctor Thiersch and I had heard of the discovery at this point of some interesting objects by the natives, and we had come to investigate. By a peculiar good chance, and after much persistence, we were able to discover finally, among the tombs which had been unearthed and rifled by the natives, some four tombs of a remarkable character, unlike anything heretofore found in Palestine—the painted tombs of Marissa. One of these proved, from the inscriptions which we were able to recover, to have been the tomb of the head of a colony of Phœnicians planted at that place when the Ptolemies were in control of the country, somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 B. C. These tombs

Khebur Israim, Tomb of Israel (?).

One of several tumuli in the Wadi Farā, between Jerusalem and Jericho, erected over their dead by the victors in some ancient battle.

made no great revelations, but they were, nevertheless, an interesting and important discovery, throwing light on the political, social, and religious conditions of a little-known period, and one of them was, in fact, the earliest treatise on natural history heretofore discovered. They were thought worthy, therefore, of being published as one of the memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund. It was a sad thing that this cemetery could not have been explored by scientific explorers. We shall never know now the story those hundreds of graves might have told.

The next excavation undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund was at Gezer, a city which the Pharaoh gave as dower to his daughter when she married Solomon. Learning by experience, this excavation was conducted for a longer time and a greater portion of the mound was excavated than theretofore. This work was in charge of Professor Stewart MacAlister, who had been Doctor Bliss's assistant in his excavations in the Shephelah, and had behind him therefore the advantage of experience. I had the good fortune to visit Professor MacAlister several times while his excavations were in progress. The reputation of my good fortune in excavations in Babylonia had preceded me, enhanced by my good luck in helping to find the old cemetery of Marissa and its painted tombs, the most striking and picturesque discovery, certainly, which had been made in Palestine up to that time. The result was that the workmen regarded me, to use our phrase, as a mascot. They were sure that my coming would bring them in some

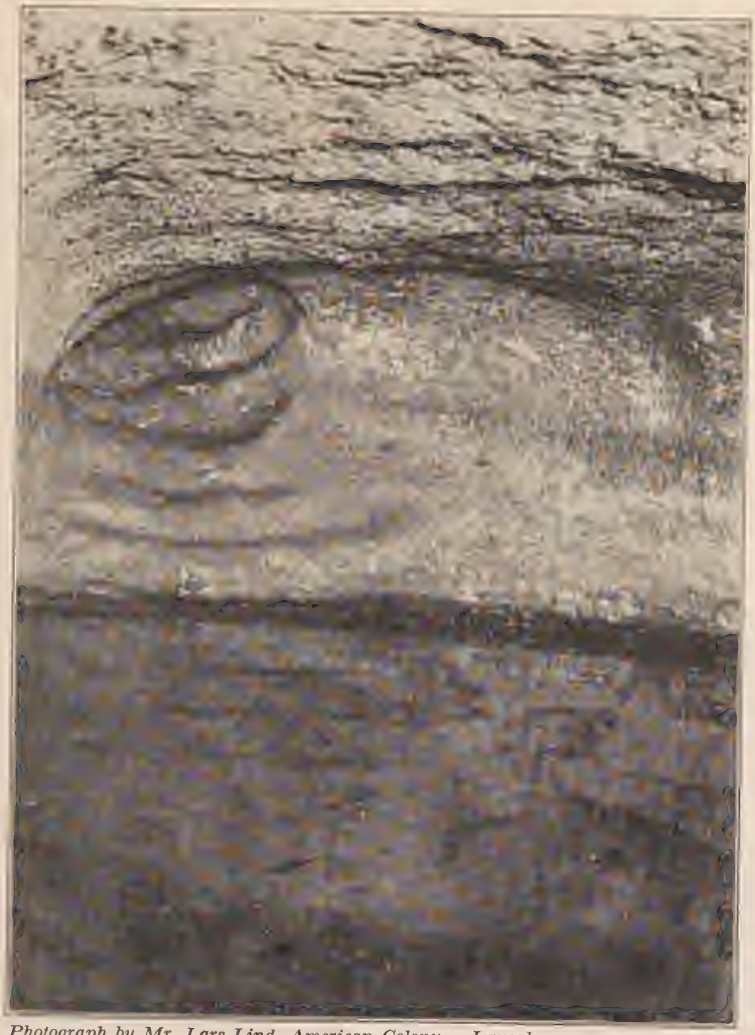
way good luck, and they watched my every move. This being called to my attention, I took advantage of it and asked of Mr. MacAlister a favor. I had observed a certain stone projecting from the ground, from the character and position of which I was led to believe that there was something of great importance beneath. Mr. MacAlister had commenced his excavations in the most methodical, scientific way on the outskirts of the town, but at the rate of progress which he was making it might be a couple of years before he reached this stone. In the meantime money might give out, the authorities in England might lose interest because of the lack of production of valuable returns, or there might be some political catastrophe, and this spot would never be excavated. I found in talking with Mr. MacAlister that he agreed with me that the indications at that place pointed to something very important. I urged him to take his men off the outskirts of the town and put them instantly at work at that spot. The work could be done as scientifically, but perhaps with a little more difficulty, from the interior. His father, Professor MacAlister, the ethnologist, of Cambridge, who chanced to be visiting him at the same time, seconded my request, and Mr. MacAlister did as we desired.

At that point was discovered the most interesting and important of all the discoveries at Gezer, the ancient temple with its old *mazzeboth,* or sacred pillars of phallic significance. Among these was a stone which had been carried off, apparently, from some shrine at Jerusalem or its neighborhood in some raid, or as

the result of some victory, and set up in the shrine at Gezer, just as on the Moab stone, of which I spoke a moment since, Mesha, king of Moab, tells us that he carried off such stones from other sanctuaries and erected them in the shrines of his own land. The chief stone of the cult, a natural phallus, polished by much kissing, was quite small. This had been flanked by two other very large stones, until gradually there grew up a row of stones, one of them at least stolen from another sanctuary. Apparently there had stood there also an asherah or wooden pole, such as the Hebrew Scriptures describe as existing at all Canaanite shrines, and until the time of Isaiah certainly at all the Hebrew shrines in Palestine. Also there was a cave, for caves were almost a necessary concomitant of these old shrines. There is one at Jerusalem, under the Rock. There is one on Mount Gerizzim, where the great Samaritan sanctuary stood; and they have been found elsewhere. But I may not delay too long on this. In connection with this sanctuary were found those pitiful and tragic evidences of the truthfulness of the representations of the prophets of Israel with regard to the religion of Canaan, the remains of little children, first-born sons, who had been sacrificed by their parents, as also human foundation sacrifices. There were found also abundant evidences of that obscene sex cult, the corruption of his wife by which made Hosea a prophet, and which is mentioned over and over again in the Hebrew Scriptures as the great corrupting influence of the Canaanite religion, which permeated also the religion of Israel and threat-

ened to bring on Israel the wrath of God and the destruction of the state. Everywhere about were the unmistakable evidences of this cult in the abundant phallic and other sexual emblems and symbols.

MacAlister's excavation of Gezer enabled us first to tell the story of early Canaan. It is to his work that we are indebted for our knowledge of Palestine in its barbarous state, occupied by a troglodyte, non-Semitic population, very small in stature, using only stone instruments, making rude pottery, like most cave-dwellers addicted to drawing pictures on the walls, burning their dead, eating pigs. It was not until about 2500 B. C. that these were replaced by a Semitic stock. It is chiefly through the study of the pottery, the Egyptian scarabs, and the few seals, etc., which were found that MacAlister was able to restore to this extent the history of those times—to show the slow development of civilization out of barbarism, the relations of Palestine with the outside world, the influence of Egypt, the coming in of the Hebrews, and of new religious ideas. One of his interesting discoveries was a rock-cut, sloping tunnel descending to a depth of over ninety feet, by which the Gezerites procured living water under their city within the fortifications. The remains found at the mouth of the tunnel show that this was in use before 2000 B. C. At that period Canaanites were doing wonderful work in rock-cutting, which was, in reality, part of their inheritance from the barbaric peoples that preceded them. It was the older troglodytes who began that cutting into the rock, first enlarging old caves, then



*Photograph by Mr. Lars Lind, American Colony. Jerusalem.*

Rock-cut pool and secret water passage beneath Gibeon,
from before the Hebrew conquest of Canaan.

building caves of their own, which has left such a wonderful underground world, as yet only half explored, beneath the Palestine we see.

In a former lecture I called attention to the fact that the ancient Jerusalem before David's time was supplied with water by rock-cut shafts and tunnels as Gezer was. On my last visit to Jerusalem, in the spring of 1920, my attention was called by Mr. Lars Lind of the American colony to the fact that there was an interesting rock-cut fountain under the city of Gibeon. Exploring that, and swimming across the fountain, which I assure you was very cold and undesirable as a swimming-pool, stirring up some two feet of mud by sounding for the bottom, and thus arousing the wrath of the whole town of Gezer, whose water-supply we were ruining for the next week, we found on the other side of the pool steps cut in the rock leading up to a rock-cut tunnel, which had once been the means by which the inhabitants of the city in time of siege could secure an inexhaustible supply of living water.[1] There were evidences there as in Jerusalem of an early and a later tunnel, the earlier one a straight shaft, the second one a sloping tunnel with steps. But this is an aside.

Of inscriptions there were found at Gezer only two clay tablets of the seventh century B. C., one an Assyrian document from the time when an Assyrian governor resided in the town; but none of those Hebrew tablets which we had expected were found here.

[1] As I found later this had already been observed, and a brief notice of its existence published by Vincent.

After Gezer the Palestine Exploration Fund excavated at Ain Shems, the Beth Shemesh, house of the Sun, of Israelite times, which was the old sanctuary of the tribe of Dan, whose hero was Sampson the Sun-man, and whose original god was Shemesh the Sun. The Germans and Austrians excavated in part the ancient Taanach and the ancient Megiddo on the south side of the plain of Esdraelon. In Taanach the Austrians found some half-dozen clay tablets, of a very early pre-Israelitic date, inscribed in the Babylonian script and character, part of a much larger archive which had been robbed or carried off for some reason, only these few by accident being left behind. Here too were found evidences of that cruel practice of child sacrifice, and of the sexual corruption of the old Canaanite religion. In Megiddo, the Germans discovered, in the house, apparently, of the governor of the town, a beautifully inscribed seal, with the symbol of the lion and an inscription "Of Shema, servant of Jeroboam." Apparently he was an official of Jeroboam II, king of Samaria. Also here were found one or two temples of the house type, that is, enclosed buildings, one of them containing in the small precisely such pillars as we find described in the book of Kings as standing before the temple to represent the divine power within the great pillars called Jachin and Boaz. All other shrines, such as were found at Tel es-Safi and Gezer, were out-of-door shrines, such as the Israelites themselves had at Bethel and presumably at Dan and on Mount Gerizzim by Shechem. Doctor Sellin also excavated in Jericho, and later, immediately before

the war, for a brief two weeks he dug in the eastern hold of the ancient Shechem.

The place of all others which I had desired to see excavated in Palestine, and which I recommended to the Palestine Exploration Fund as from my experience in Babylonia seeming to me the most hopeful site, was Samaria. This was in part excavated by Harvard University. The visible remains at that site are Roman and Herodian, and there the excavators found a fine basilica, and a great Roman temple, also the remains of various cities, one below the other, from the Roman period backward to the Hebrew and no further, for this is one of the few sites not of great antiquity, not antedating the Hebrew conquest, but first occupied by the Israelites. Omri, king of Israel, chose this place as his capital, and built the first city of Samaria on an unoccupied site, we are told in the Bible; and the explorers reached a building which seems to have been a part of the palace of Omri, above which stood a finer palace. This is assumed to have been the palace of Ahab, for in it was found an Egyptian vase bearing the name of King Osorkon, contemporary with Ahab. Here was found also a store of potsherds with letters smeared on with paint. Potsherds constituted, you must remember, the note-books and the letters and the records for common things in the old world, in Egypt and Greece. This was our first knowledge of their similar use in Palestine. These potsherds contained the names of persons who had turned in their tribute or their rent of oil, wine, and the like, with statements of the amount; but the most important part of these records is the names they contain.

Besides these there have been a few lesser excavations of synagogues in Palestine, the finest of which was the synagogue at Capernaum, which stood apparently on the very site, perhaps was a replica, of the synagogue built by the Roman centurion and in use at the time of Christ.

In Jerusalem, just before the war, excavations were conducted outside of the present walls to the southward. On the western hill, the one now called Zion, the Assumptionist Fathers laid bare a little part of its eastern side, so long as their funds held out, finding what seems to have been the house of the high priest, Caiaphas; also the stair street which led down from the top of the hill, where the house was in which Jesus ate the Last Supper with his disciples, to the pool of Siloam, and the water gate.

On the eastern hill, ancient Ophel, the German archæologist, Gunkel, conducted some slight excavations in the first decade of this century. Later Captain Parker, an Englishman, conducted more considerable underground excavations on the eastern side of this hill, about the Virgin's spring and northward. By the side of these latter excavations southward, through the generosity of Rothschild of Paris, excavations were also conducted under Jewish auspices, Parker and Weil giving the general impression of being in great rivalry to find the old royal tombs and the old temple treasures. Whatever the cause of these two excavations, they have brought to us considerable knowledge of the city, enabling us to understand, somewhat better than before, the history of that part

Frank Mountain, an artificial mountain a few miles southeast of Bethlehem, built by Herod for his tomb, as the early Pharaohs built pyramids.

Later, a crumbling fort, where the Knights Templars made their last stand.

of Jerusalem, and bringing us final confirmation of the original site of David's city, of the character of that city, and of the place of the Acra of the Maccabean period, so long in dispute. In my last lecture I told you the story of the 84th Psalm. It would have been impossible to have made such a discovery as that before the excavations of the Assumptionist Fathers, and of Parker and Weil.

This completes the list of excavations which deserve that name in Palestine before the war. With conditions after the war I will deal at the conclusion of this lecture. I have referred to the lesser excavations conducted in various parts of the country by natives to procure material for dealers. The results of these excavations have gone, for the most part, to museums and collectors in different parts of the world. They consist of pottery, glass, seals, and small objects and stone implements. There are also collections in Jerusalem, partly in the hands of dealers, partly in the hands of institutions and private persons. The largest of these collections was one made by the German Benedictines before the war. The most scientifically arranged is that of the Assumptionist Fathers at Notre Dame de France. The White Fathers, who have the old crusading Church of Saint Anne, which was given to the French after the Crimean War, and who have excavated the ancient pool of Bethesda, have a collection of especial value for the ordinary Bible reader, each object being labelled as illustrating something in the Bible. The Palestine Exploration Fund, the Municipality, the Dominican Fathers, and the Ameri-

can School also have small collections. Mr. Herbert Clark possesses an extraordinary collection of stone objects amassed by himself, with some beautiful pieces of glass, a few old Philistine double axes, and the like; and others have smaller collections. By an examination of these the present-day scholar is able to obtain in Jerusalem itself a very practical education in the antiquities of the country.

Palæolithic stone implements seem to be pretty well distributed over the surface everywhere; they have also been found in old caves on the Phœnician coast, under solid masses of breccia, and would presumably be found in some of the caves of Palestine if they were similarly explored. This evidences the occupation of the country at a very early time by a people in a very rude state. But evidently, also, rude stone implements continued to be used until a very late date, or these Palæolithic remains would not be found distributed as they are over the whole surface of the country. Palæolithic implements or even eolithic implements are not in themselves evidences of a great antiquity, but rather of a low grade of civilization.

Nowhere in Palestine are those beautiful neolithic implements found which are so distinctive a characteristic of Egypt. The character of the stone implements found in Palestine is, in general, an evidence of the relatively backward state of that country in material civilization in comparison with neighboring regions from the earliest times down to the latest. Glass, it may be noted also, is very rare in Palestine, and the specimens found poor. That is, however, in

part at least, due to religious prejudice on the part of the Jews. The best glass found in Palestine is that from the tombs of Marissa, which place, as pointed out above, was occupied in the Seleucidan period by a Phœnician colony.

I have spoken about our discovery at Marissa of the painted tombs. In those we found the first representation of the cock in Palestine. This bird did not appear there until a relatively late date owing again to the religious prejudices of the Jews. It was my investigation of the history of this creature, his source, his date of introduction in various civilized countries, which led me to observe what had theretofore been overlooked, that the name of the cock appears once in the Old Testament, namely in the book of Proverbs, chapter 30, verses 29–31. You will not find the name in your English Bibles, however, because the scribes who put in shape the text of the Hebrew Bible which has come down to us, the so-called Masorah, were offended by what seemed to them the indecent allusion in the line of this verse referring to the cock and drew a line through the verse diagonally from the left upper corner downward and across toward the lower right corner. The result is that the first line was preserved intact, a little less of the second, and so on down to the bottom. The cock was eliminated, which was the intention of the scribes, and the whole verse was made quite unintelligible. Fortunately for our scientific information the original text has come down to us in the so-called versions or translations, by means of which it is possible to restore the eliminated part. Be-

cause of his unclean habits the cock had a hard time in gaining entrance into the Holy Land, and it is interesting to note that the first representation of him found there was on the border-land, in a Phœnician colony in Edomite territory.

The collections to which I have referred are part of the material for the study of underground Palestine, and especially underground Jerusalem, which have grown up in the latter days. There was nothing of the sort in Jerusalem when I first visited it thirty-one years ago. I could see nothing then but that which was above the ground, and going back to my notes of travel and observation at that time I realize how little I did see of Palestine, and how imperfect an idea I acquired of the old city of Jerusalem and of the old country of Palestine and of its inhabitants in comparison with that which I now possess. Every excavation for a building site in Jerusalem lays bare ancient remains and unearths almost inevitably antiquities. The scientific excavation and exploration which I have described first called attention to this, and pretty soon efforts began to be made to collect what was found and record what was seen in the course of building operations. Architect Schick, to whom I have before referred, did an extremely valuable work in this direction in Jerusalem. So also did Selah Merrill, who was twice American consul, each consulate covering a considerable period of years. He was one of the former members of the American Palestine Exploration Society to whom had been assigned the survey of eastern Palestine. Among the French monastic orders also

Pillars of the Basilica at Schaste, the Hercelian-Roman city built on the site of the ancient Samaria.

Excavated by the Harvard Expedition, under Professors Lyon and Reisner.

were some fathers who developed a particular interest in antiquities, Père Barnabé of the Franciscans, Germer Durand of the Assumptionists, LaGrange, Vincent, Abel, and others of the Dominicans. The Palestine Exploration Fund, and later the similar German society, encouraged study and observation in various directions, the collection of folk-lore and folk-songs, meteorological observations, customs, and habits, village traditions, and the like. Visiting Palestine for the second time, twelve years after my first visit, I found, as a result of the work which had been going on, a vastly different situation. I came away from that visit knowing something of Palestine under the ground. My last visit, a little over a year ago, showed me a very rapid progress in the interval, and I am glad to say that we Americans have played an honorable part in this development of knowledge of underground Palestine, not only through our consul, to whom reference was made, but through the American School of Archæological Research, which was established by the efforts of the late Professor Thayer of Cambridge, Massachusetts, about the commencement of this century, and which has had as its annual directors some of the most distinguished Bible scholars of this country.

One result of all this has been the identification with a reasonable degree of certainty of some of the most important Biblical sites in Jerusalem, which were before uncertain. We now understand pretty well the configuration of the temple site, and especially just where the great altar stood, namely on that natural rock which to this day the Moslems regard as so sacred.

This is enclosed by a beautiful dome or *qubbeh,* which is generally known under the false title of the Mosque of Omar, its true title being the Dome of the Rock. I think we may now say that the traditional sites of the tomb of our Lord and of Golgotha are determined to be the true sites. When I first saw the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in 1890, I confess that I was repelled by it. I could not imagine how Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre could ever really have been there, and fancied that the whole thing was a monastic mediæval myth. When I visited it again in 1902, with a little better perception of what was under the surface, a little better understanding of the early history of the city, I found myself in doubt. I remember comparing notes with Père Vincent, who, as I have already stated, is probably the best Jerusalem archæologist in the world. He then felt that while he might wish that were the site, he yet was doubtful. There were arguments pro and con. With ever-increasing knowledge of the configuration of underground Jerusalem, on my last visit I became convinced that the traditional site was indeed the true site, and I found to my great pleasure that Vincent had reached the same conclusion and was publishing a large book showing the growth and development of the buildings there.

It is clear from all accounts that in Constantine's day a tradition still persisted of the place of the crucifixion and the place of burial. Now tomb sites are easier to identify, I think, than anything else in Palestine, and it would have been a strange thing if in that relatively brief time all tradition of the site of Jesus'

tomb and the place of the crucifixion and the resurrection had vanished. But over the site had accumulated an immense amount of débris, and the Romans had built there a temple of Venus. When this débris was removed, in the desire to do honor to and to preserve Golgotha and the Tomb for Helena's sake and for the sake of the great body of her fellow Christians, Constantine's architect cut away the slope of the hill in which was the tomb of Joseph, where Jesus had been buried, so as to leave that tomb isolated, standing by itself. In doing this, he did not cut away quite all the tombs in that hill slope, however, and in the little Syrian chapel behind the Sepulchre there still exist one or two old Jewish tombs. Similarly in order effectively to make Golgotha a part of this great memorial he cut off the slopes of that hill, destroying altogether its original skull shape, but leaving intact the summit, and especially that part of the hill on which the cross must have stood. Both the Tomb and the remaining portion of Golgotha were incrusted with fine stones, alike to do them honor and to preserve from injury what was left. Recent study has made it pretty clear that this traditional Golgotha must have been just outside the wall of our Lord's lifetime, in a sort of a corner. That is, as we now know the contours of the city, the only line in which a wall of fortification could have been run, and in point of fact we can now trace the line of the wall at this point by its moat, largely occupied to-day by cisterns.

We know also perhaps where the Prætorium was, although that is still disputed. By the Ecce Homo

arch, near the beginning of the Via Dolorosa, stands the school and convent of the Sisters of Zion. When the builders were excavating for the erection of that convent, they found that the Ecce Homo arch which spans the street was part of a Roman triumphal arch, built presumably in Hadrian's day, close to the government house or Prætorium. That Prætorium had been built on the site of the older Prætorium of our Lord's day, presumably on its general lines, utilizing much of its old pavements, foundations, and material. Away down underneath the House of the Sisters of Zion was found one of these pavements, which the sisters have reverently preserved, a *gabbatha*, an open paved space or court of the government house, very likely unchanged since our Lord's time. There, traced on the ground by the soldiers, you may find the boards for their gambling games. Gethsemane also is approximately identified, and the house of the Last Supper; and the present visitor to Jerusalem who is intelligently informed can pretty well restore a good deal of the city of our Lord's time, enough at least to make the references in the Gospels thoroughly intelligible.

Old Jerusalem was a city of two great hills, divided into seven smaller ones, with deep valleys between. To-day it looks almost like a plain, but he who has followed these excavations, standing on a height, will see the traces of the old hills and valleys, and if he has used the various maps and casts which are now available, the ordnance surveys and reports, the débris will vanish from his sight, and he will see the deep clefts,

the high hills, and the steep streets of our Lord's time, and even earlier, to the time of David.

What is true of Jerusalem is true to some extent of the remainder of Palestine. Nazareth was very disappointing to me in my earlier visits. I used to go, as I suppose others did, to the fountain in the town and try to imagine Mary drawing water there and the child Jesus by her side, but somehow it did not seem natural, and on the whole I got little satisfaction out of Nazareth. This time I resolved to go and study it as I had been studying Jerusalem. I suppose I should have known, but I did not, that that modern fountain, a shabby, squalid thing, is a recent Turkish construction and no fountain at all. The water is supplied to it by iron pipes carried underground. We know now that the real fountain was two or three hundred feet up the valley, at the foot of the real hill, beneath a great mass of débris. There there was a cave, from which the water used to issue, the same water which is now brought by pipes underground to the fountain which you are shown as the fountain from which Mary drew her water. Under the Franciscans' buildings you will find some excavations, from a study of which and of the excavations under the house of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, near by, you will be able to understand a little better what the old Nazareth was like; for the present town, as far as it is not well up on the hill, stands fifteen to thirty feet above old Nazareth. One thing that pleased me on my last visit was to find that we can pretty accurately locate the point where they would have thrown Jesus down the rocks.

Of Shechem the same is true. Old Shechem is buried deep below the ground. It was only on my last visit to Palestine, and then not until I had gone time and time again to Shechem, that I learned what and where Shechem really was, and came to realize its immense importance in early Hebrew story. I may not detain you longer with this sort of vague statements of the things which we have learned. I have sought to bring before your mind the fact that while excavations may have seemed to be unsatisfactory in material results, and while we have been disappointed in not finding ancient Hebrew remains—and, in fact, the Hebrews never were a building people and in material civilization they always lingered far behind—nevertheless, we have obtained a very large amount of information about the Palestine of all periods. We have been able, even without inscriptions, to secure a very fair record of its history, and the Bible, Old and New Testaments alike, has assumed a new meaning in many of its parts as a result of modern exploration and study of the Holy Land.

On my first visit to Shechem I was not in a position to perceive that the book of Deuteronomy was in its origin the law book of Shechem, and that those Psalms which we know as the "Prayers of David son of Jesse" were the hymn-book of the old temple of Shechem on Mount Gerizzim. The 68th Psalm makes this very clear by its local allusions, as in the passage looking down from the top of Gerizzim to Jacob's well beneath. In verses 26–28 are enumerated the people who have gathered at the high altar on Mount Geriz-

zim for the feast, and first of all the people from the well:

> 26. "In the congregations they have blessed God,
> The Lord from the well of Israel."

Shechem itself is the congregation of Gerizzim, the centre of Joseph and Israel, down there at the foot of the mountain, by the well of Jacob.

Next we have the southern tribes, coming in procession to the festival in central Israel:

> 27. "There is little Benjamin bringing them down,
> The princes of Judah their leaders";

and finally the tribes from the north:

> "Princes of Zebulun, princes of Naphtali."

On Mount Gerizzim stood in the old Israelite times the temple of which the temple of the Samaritans became later the heretical successor. This was not a temple with bulls, like those at Dan and Bethel, but a temple where the law was set up inscribed on pillars. We have the account of this in the twenty-seventh chapter of Deuteronomy, but I had failed to see this before, because I had not studied these things on the spot with eyes opened by the discoveries of recent date.

Clearly as, in the account of the dedication of Solomon's temple, I Kings 8, or of David's bringing in of the Ark, II Sam. 6, the annual temple festivals in commemoration of those events are described in the story of those events, so here the temple on Gerizzim is described in Deut. 27 under the form of Moses' com-

mandment for its erection. In our Masoretic text it is Ebal (v. 4) on which the pillars of the law are to be erected. This is quite inconsistent with verse 13, and scholars are agreed that the Samaritan Hebrew text of verse 4 is the correct text, namely Gerizzim. Evidently there was a *tendenz* change in the Masoretic text, directed against the Samaritans. We have a similar *tendenz* change directed against the Christians in Isaiah 7 : 14. In this ancient Christian proof text our present Hebrew Bibles have, "the young woman" instead of "the virgin," as quoted by Saint Matthew (1 : 21), supported by the independent authority of Saint Luke. The sense of the passage requires virgin, which appears in the almost parallel passage, Micah 4 : 8–10. The Greek and Syriac versions of Isaiah both have "the virgin." Saint Matthew, apparently, does not quote from the Greek, from which he differs in detail, but either from the Hebrew of his day or from an Aramaic Targum. The present Targum, however, agrees with the Masoretic Hebrew, and Jerome found the same Hebrew text which we now have. Pretty clearly up to about 150 A. D. the Hebrew text read "the virgin," which was later changed, at the expense of the sense, to "young woman," out of *tendenz* against the use of the passage by Christians.[1]

In concluding this lecture I wish to say that with the abolition of the Turkish Government and the introduction of British control the great opportunity has come for a thorough exploration of the country. Already the Palestine Exploration Fund has commenced

[1] *Cf.* Peters, *The Old Testament and the New Scholarship.*

Threshing floor over cave on Mount Gerezim, where the Samaritan takes off his shoes.
Here was the ancient Temple where stood the Pillars of the Law. Deut. 27.

the excavation of Ashkelon, the old Philistine city on the coast of the Mediterranean. The Jews have commenced work at Tiberias; the Dominican Fathers are exploring the site of Ain Duk in the Jordan valley, near Jericho, where during the war a mosaic floor of an interesting Jewish synagogue, perhaps of Herod's time, perhaps later, was laid bare by the explosion of a shell. The University of Pennsylvania is excavating Beisan, the ancient Beth Shean, and Scythopolis. The University of Chicago has obtained the concession for Megiddo, and Harvard for Samaria.

I have said that we have not heretofore found much of Hebrew remains. Previous excavations have never been conducted to a finish. Bliss did a little at Lachish, Harvard a little at Samaria; but no excavations were completed. The obstacles were too great; and the support was too small. Perhaps, too, our knowledge was not sufficient. Moreover the sites chosen were ordinarily not sites of the greatest importance and interest from the point of view of the Bible story. They were places on the border-land, and not the true homes of the Israelites. Perhaps that is one reason why we have not found those Bible remains which are what most of us believe to be the most important things to be sought for. From what little we have yet found it would seem, as I have said, as though the Hebrew always stood far behind in material civilization. They were no builders. They left few records in the form of inscriptions. The inhabitants of the country before their time had done great rock-cutting, and had built great cities, which the Hebrews took

possession of. When the Hebrews came in, building deteriorated, pottery degenerated. With Herod we come to a period of wonderful activity in building. He was one of the great builders of the world, who has left his remains everywhere in Palestine and in many places outside. The Christian Byzantine period, from the time of Constantine to the Arabic conquest, was another period of great cultural activity. The numerous mosaics which have been found in Palestine, including the great Madeba map, are from this period. With the Crusades was inaugurated another period of magnificent buildings. All these periods need an investigation which they have not yet received, but the period of chief importance for the history of religion and civilization is that Israelitic-Jewish period from which we have as yet discovered so little.

The two most available and promising sites for Hebrew discoveries are Zion and Samaria. David's city, on the hill of Ophel, southward of the modern city walls, is at present unbuilt, as is part of the western hill opposite across the Tyropœon valley. These should be excavated at once. The present opportunity may else be lost. Next to these in importance is Samaria, already partly excavated by Harvard. In Samaria explorers found Ahab's palace, a well-built structure, in which also were discovered, as already stated, some records. I think that perhaps if we could thoroughly explore Zion and Samaria, perhaps also Gibeon, Shechem, Hebron, Dan, and Bethel, we might find our present conclusion that the Hebrews left little behind them in part, at least, reversed. At all events it is in

such sites that we may hope to find real Hebrew and Israelite material, and for us Americans there is now a great opportunity to excavate those places, if only the money may be provided. We have our American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem as the basis of such work. We have scholars already trained under whom such work could be skilfully conducted. We are personæ gratæ with the British Government and the natives alike. If only we could now find generous men and women who, having at heart the promotion of the study of the Bible, would give the funds for such work, there is almost a certainty that we Americans could throw a vastly greater light on the Bible by excavation at one or more of the sites named than has come from all the work done in Palestine heretofore, and as America began the work of exploration in Palestine, it would certainly be a fit achievement if America might carry it to high-water mark.

## VI

## NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

THE New Testament, and especially the book of Acts, makes us aware of the great prevalence of magical beliefs and practices in the first Christian century, and also of the rôle which the Jews played as magicians, a rôle which continued on until the Middle Ages. In our excavations at Nippur we discovered a Jewish settlement from the houses of which we took a large number of magical bowls. Our excavations also revealed from older periods a considerable number of Babylonian exorcisms and magical formulæ, more of which have been found at other places in Babylonia and in Ashur-bani-pal's library at Nineveh. From these it would appear that the old Sumerians had reduced magic to a pseudoscience, and their magical texts in the Sumerian tongue, which, like the Latin in the Middle Ages, was supposed to be especially efficacious, were handed down from generation to generation, occasionally with a translation attached. The main principles of this magic are the same with which we are familiar from the study of magic in other times and countries, but here it was reduced to a science. In some cases it is hard to say whether a particular text is to be regarded as a magical text or as a religious ritual. Both proceed somewhat on the same principle, of the existence of innumerable demons who find occasion

to enter into men's bodies or to obtain control over them. This control may be manifested by some form of calamity to the man or his possessions, or by bodily illness. In either case the demons must be exorcised. Now this exorcism may be a white magic or a black magic, that is, it may be conducted legitimately by priests with church rites, or illegitimately by sorcerers with rites of a different character. In the fourth and following chapters of the book of Leviticus, we have a series of rituals of atonement for evil caused by witting or unwitting violations of ritual or moral law. We have from the library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh a series of tablets called *shurpu,* a great part of which are devoted to the removal by a proper atonement of the *mamit,* that is the ban or calamity which has come upon the man because wittingly or unwittingly he has broken divine laws. The words for atonement in the Assyrian text and the Hebrew Scripture are identical, *kipper* and *kuppur,* and in fact the whole principle of the ritual is identical. The same thing is true of the liturgies to accompany the rituals, of which we have a number in our book of Psalms. We have also Assyrian tablets which tell us what the *mamit* was, showing the causes which brought sickness and calamity on a man, and they are practically identical in Assyria and in Jerusalem. That being the case, we need not be surprised if we find the black magic also substantially identical.

It was the systematic form in which this Sumerian magic was developed which caused it to influence in a peculiar degree the magic of surrounding and related

countries, so that its principles and methods have passed down from generation to generation, in fact, even to our time. One of the fundamental principles of magic as it shows itself in the old Sumerian texts, is the power that lies in the knowledge of the name. To know the name gives power over or through the being which that name expresses. In attacking the power of evil, the magician must call to his aid some divine authority to support him in his combat. This aid is generally known as the *Word of Power*, and in its simple form is the name of some divine being or thing. Hear a part of one of the inscriptions found on the bowls in the Jewish houses at Nippur, placed as a rule under the threshold, the intent of which was to imprison evil spirits and hold them beneath the threshold by exorcisms, that they might not harm the house or its inhabitants. Such bowls properly provided with incantations by the right sort of magicians should not only protect against evil, but also insure all sorts of prosperity to the family within. "A remedy from heaven to Darbah, son of Asasarieh, and for Shadkoi, daughter of Dada, his wife, for their sons and daughters, their houses and possessions; that they may have children, and that these live and be preserved from Shedim and Dævas, from Shubhte and Satans—from curses, night demons and destruction which have been prepared for them." Then the charm adjures an angel who is "come down from heaven," who has "command in the East over the secrets of the Almighty," to preserve them. Then follows the ban or curse on all sorts of evils, some of them personified by names of demons,

some of them mentioned simply as "troubles, cursing, laceration, calamity, ban, curse"; and finally this charm is made applicable to "their houses and possessions" and "everything which may be theirs," and the whole ends thus: "By means of this we loosen their hold from this day and forever. In the name of Yahaweh of Hosts! Amen! Amen! Selah! May Yahaweh, by this, preserve him from every Ashmodai of his soul." Here the sorcerer has used the greatest of all names, in which he is very orthodox, albeit at that time the name Yahaweh was a secret, mystic name for the deity, forbidden the ordinary man. We find frequently curious compound names used and unintelligible names made up to represent extraordinary demons, which by the power of black magic are to be made to serve for a good purpose, but the sure name, which is above all other names, is that mysterious, forbidden name of the God of the Jews, Yahaweh. This is the most powerful name by which a man may conjure everything in heaven and on earth, before which everything must bow. This was to the Jews the great Word of Power. The Christians transferred this to Jesus Christ as the expression of that divine power to which the world of spirits is subject. So Saint Paul writes: "At the name of Jesus, every knee shall bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth." (Phil. 2 : 10.) So in that early Aramaic document which Saint Luke has translated or adapted in the first part of the book of Acts, the apostles are represented as overcoming all the powers of evil spirits possessing men with disease by that name (Acts 4 : 10): "By the name of Jesus Christ of

Nazareth, doth this man appear before you whole." It was by the power of his name that the evil spirit of disease was cast out.

Perhaps the most common form of magic the world over is that known as sympathetic. A familiar example of sympathetic magic, of which every one has heard, is the melting of a wax figure with the invocation of a curse in order to bring evil upon some one. In one of the early Psalms we find an indication of a somewhat similar practice by the enemies of the Israelites to bring evil upon Israel, namely the secretion on Israelitic soil of magic figures; and in Bliss's excavations at Marissa there were found a number of lead figures evidently intended to be used for a similar purpose. This principle of sympathetic magic was used freely in Sumerian practice in the healing of disease. A pig or a kid was placed by or upon the sick person and the demon of disease exorcised out of the body of the sick man into the animal. Here is an exorcism to be used in such cases: "Give the pig in his stead, and give the flesh as his flesh, the blood as his blood, and let him take it; its heart (which thou hast set on his heart) give as his heart, and let him take it." One is reminded strikingly of the devils which went into the herd of swine in the country of the Gadarenes, that most peculiar miracle of the New Testament, recorded in Saint Mark's Gospel, on the authority presumably of Saint Peter, and taken over from Saint Mark by Saint Luke and Saint Matthew.

It must be recognized that the early Christians did not readily free themselves from these old magical

conceptions. Indeed, we know too well that the old beliefs in witches and demons and magic continued to be regarded as almost an essential part of Christianity until our own times, and the most holy things in the Christian religion, its sacraments and its creeds, were regularly used as magical formulæ. MacAlister in excavating at Gezer found little magical plates, one of them in the form of a bird, made to contain a sacred wafer of the Eucharist; and we know from the writings of the early Christian fathers, men as great and as holy as Saint Basil, how Christians used these. Basil tells us that when he first celebrated the communion as a priest, he put aside one portion of the wafer to be kept through life, that it might go down into the grave with him. It was a charm. Baptism was used in the same way, as we learn from Tertullian, and possibly that mysterious passage in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians (v. 29): "Why are we then baptized for the dead," may refer to this same magical use of baptism, which was ultimately condemned by the Church.

Here is a curious Christian prayer or magical formula found on a piece of papyrus in Egypt, now in the museum at Gizeh: "I call on Thee, God of the Heavens and God of the earth and God of the . . . saints, the fulness of the world—who came into the world, and has broken the claws of Charon; who came through Gabriel into the womb of Mary the Virgin; who was born in Bethlehem, and brought up in Nazareth; who was crucified—; through whom the veil of the temple was rent; who rose from the dead in the grave on the

third day of death, appeared in Galilee, and ascended to the highest of the heavens; and who has upon His left myriads of myriads of angel hosts, likewise at his right myriads of myriads of angel hosts, who cry out with one voice thrice 'Holy, holy is the King of the world,' through whose Godhead the heavens were sated; who takes His way on the paths of the winds." So far you might think this to be some liturgical form of creed, and indeed it testifies to the way in which creeds were used and sung through all those early days of the Church, and shows us how early those creeds really are. But the following part is a prayer or incantation addressed to Jesus, who has shown his power over all the universe, who is "ascended into the seventh heaven," "the Blessed Lamb," who has overcome all the enemies of man, "through whose blood the souls were freed," "who broke the iron bars, who set free those that were bound in darkness, who made Charon without seed; who bound the rebellious foe," to release him over whom this exorcism of prayer is recited from the spirits of disease, whether "an unclean spirit or a possession of a demon in the midday hours, whether they be ague or fever, or fever and ague, or injury from men or powers of the adversary, may they not prevail against the image, because it was formed from the hand of Thy godhead—for Thine is the power—of the world, which ruleth forever."

Egypt has furnished us with innumerable surprises. In my former lectures I have tried to show how some of those bear on Old Testament story. We have from Egypt few texts and inscriptions which we can directly

correlate with the Bible, as we can do in the case of Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, but we have, on the other hand, an immense amount of material which throws a most valuable side-light on whole periods. From Egypt novels and stories have come down to us, to one or two of which I have made allusion; as for instance the story of the fugitive, about 2000 B. C., who took refuge in the ancient land of Lot, from which we obtain an idea of the general conditions of that country some 800 years before the Hebrew conquest. I referred also to that travel story of the official who, in the time of Judges, went to Palestine, Phœnicia, and Cyprus to get wood of Lebanon for his royal master. We have also the story of the Two Brothers, which is so strikingly similar in many of its features to the story of Joseph, and especially of his temptation by Potiphar's wife. We have further a number of magical stories, in which a great black magician plays a wonderful part, and that same black magician we find figuring much later in European tales, the stories of Charlemagne's paladins, and of Arthur's Knights of the Round Table. I spoke of the four hundred or so clay tablets found at Amarna, letters from the kings and governors of Babylonia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, revealing the political conditions of hither Asia at the time when the ancestors of the Hebrews were beginning to press into Canaan; of the discovery of an extraordinary mass of Aramæan documents from a Jewish temple at Elephantine, the modern Jeb, on the upper Nile, archives of a Jewish military colony established there probably as early as

the time of Jeremiah; the letters themselves, however, dating from about 400 B. C. They not only throw light on the conditions of the colony itself, its unpopularity among the Egyptians, as the Jews seem always to have been unpopular, but also on the attitude of the Persian Government toward the foreign religions at that period, and on conditions in Palestine at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and Sanballat. Almost revolutionary in its bearing on our theories of the religious developments of the Jews is the evidence those documents brought of the temple at Jeb, and the worship of Yahu in various temples without prejudice at almost the time of Ezra. But most wonderful of all, and most important in their results, have been the discoveries of papyri, with which we may combine also the discoveries of the written ostraka or potsherds.

The first great discovery of papyri was made at Oxyrhynchus in 1897, in a rubbish heap of that old town in the Fayum in Egypt. Those rubbish heaps were full of old books, old records, and old documents that had been thrown out.[1] It was as though we of today were to discover a rubbish heap containing all the scraps of paper which some small town had discarded since the discovery of America. Of course they were in a bad condition, many illegible, many rotting away, but by wonderful patience and persistence thousands of them have been detached, unrolled, and deciphered. Oxyrhynchus was the first town in

[1] These discoveries were especially the work of Grenfell and Hunt, and it is more particularly from the texts discovered and published by them that I have drawn.

which papyri were found in any numbers, but since 1897 discoveries have been made in other places also, and not only in the towns of the Fayum, but even in Alexandria. One of the very amusing and yet very important of these discoveries was made, as such discoveries often are, by a curious chance. You know how the Egyptians honored animals, mummified them and buried them in cemeteries. There have been found cemeteries of crocodiles, cats, monkeys, sacred birds, bulls. In digging for inscriptions at one place the explorers came across a number of mummified crocodiles. One digger, in disgust with his bad luck in bringing up time after time only crocodiles, which would bring him no reward, whereas a little sheet of papyrus would have brought him a present, seized a crocodile that he had dug up and in indignation smashed him to pieces. Lo and behold! It was stuffed full of papyri. A precious find!

These papyri date from two or three centuries B. C. onward to the time of the Arabic conquest. They contain material of every possible description—fragments of ancient classical books (indeed, through them we have recovered some classics which were lost), fragments of the Greek Old Testament, of the New Testament, of Christian books of which we had never heard before, among others unknown Gospels, and collections of the sayings of Christ, old church liturgies, prayers, some of them very beautiful, magical formulæ, domestic and family letters, official archives—and I might prolong the list indefinitely. The discovery of these has revolutionized the study of the New Testa-

ment. It has shown us, to begin with, that the language in which the New Testament was written was the common, spoken language of the people of the eastern part of the Roman empire by the shores of the Mediterranean in the centuries just before and after Christ, not a peculiar and corrupt form of old classical Greek written by a few ignorant men whose normal language was Aramæan, and that it is not to be interpreted on the basis of the old classical Greek grammars and dictionaries entirely. I have had to scrap all my New Testament grammars and dictionaries, and new ones built on the evidence of this great mass of ostraka and papyri documents are appearing almost every day. This has thrown much light on many passages in the New Testament about the exact meaning of which there had been dispute. It has done another thing. It has given us a method of dating the language of the New Testament books which did not exist before. We have now a mass of writings covering a number of centuries, and by comparison of the New Testament writings with the documents from these different centuries we can reach conclusions as to date which were impossible before. In a former lecture I pointed out that the tendency of modern New Testament criticism had been toward a return to conservatism and to traditional dates. That has been in very great part due to the discovery of these documents and the study of the New Testament in comparison with them. To-day most New Testament scholars hold that all the books of the New Testament, except perhaps II Peter, must be dated in the first Christian century, that is sub-

*Photograph by Prof. W. A. Shelton.*

Enclosing wall of old Temple area in Jerusalem.

A chance excavation for building purposes revealed this wall to a depth of seventy feet.

stantially at the time to which they were assigned by Christian tradition.

One argument which has been overdone in both Old and New Testament criticism is the argument from silence, that is the failure of a document to make reference to events occurring, or to religious ideas or practices prevailing at the time to which tradition assigns that document. There is, of course, a certain degree of validity in such an argument, but ordinarily its value is small. Probably if you could take the family letters or the family archives of your grandparents or great-grandparents who lived at the time of the Revolution, which seems to you so stirring a period, you would find very little, if anything, about the Revolution, no references to Bunker Hill, or Brandywine, or Saratoga. It you were to take the hymns or prayers composed during that period, you would find that the hymns did not sing the victories of Washington or his defeats, and that the prayers made no allusion to those events. Out of the great mass of papyri from Egypt, it is surprising how few contain any allusions to important political or even economic conditions of the period. There is one from the time of the Jewish wars, when Vespasian and Titus were crushing the Jewish people, which is an exception to that rule, and it is such a very human document that I must read it to you. This woman's husband has been sent to Palestine to take part in some capacity in the Jewish war. She writes: "I am constantly sleepless, filled night and day with the one anxiety for your safety. Only my father's attentions kept my spirits up, and on

New Year's Day I assure you I should have gone to bed fasting but that my father came in and compelled me to eat. I implore you, therefore, to take care of yourself, and not face danger without a guard; but just as the strategus here leaves the bulk of the work to the magistrate, you do the same." [1] It is as though she cast her arms about his neck and hung on him to protect him, in her sweet affection making him powerless to do his duty, and seeking to make him hold his life more precious than his honor.

From a time when Rome seemed tottering to its fall, when the emperor had been captured, when the enemy had taken Antioch, not so far away, when you would suppose that the bonds of society were being loosed and that all would be distress and disaster, a certain Allypius, a man of substance, with large lands and many tenants, writes to one of these tenants to announce a coming visit. By God's will he will come on the twenty-third of January. "As soon therefore as you receive my letter have the bath well heated, ordering logs to be carried for it and collecting chaff from every side in order that we may have a hot bath this wintry weather; for we have determined to stay at your house, since we are going to inspect the other establishments also and to regulate the affairs of yours. Take care to prepare all other requisites also, above all a good pig for our companions; but see that it is a good one, not a lean, useless thing like last time." [2] This

[1] H. Idris Bell, "The Historical Value of Greek Papyri"; *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, Oct., 1920.
[2] *Ibid.*

would be the nature of your grandparents' letters from the Revolutionary period, if you could recover them.

Every-day living under Roman rule must have been very much the same in Palestine as in Egypt, and from the various documents of these rubbish heaps we can reconstruct a most vivid and detailed picture of life in Palestine among the common people in such sites as Nazareth in the time of Jesus and of the Apostles.

One problem which the early Christian had to face was that of his relation to heathen rites, heathen sacrifices, and heathen temple services, and ultimately, beginning in 64 A. D., his relation to the worship of the deified Roman emperor, which was the test of his loyalty to the state. In the thirteenth chapter of the book of Revelation, written, I suppose, in the time of Domitian, 81–96 A. D., this worship of the Roman emperor is represented under the form of the Monster who is Nero returned in the shape of Domitian. Those who dwell in the empire are told that they shall make an image to this beast and that whosoever will not worship the image of the beast shall be killed. All must carry (and here we have a word, *charagma*, which from the papyri it now appears was the regular word for the Roman seal or stamp) the mark of the Roman emperor on the hand or forehead, small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, and no man may pursue the ordinary avocations of life, buying or selling, unless he have that mark. A man did well to have what was called a *libellus*, an affidavit, certified by the Roman authorities, which served as a sort of passport to indi-

cate to all men everywhere that he was a true and loyal subject. Here is an application for such a *libellus,* found in Oxyrynchus, to be certified in behalf of a certain Aurelius by the superintendent of offerings and sacrifices, the magistrate entitled to issue such documents: "It has ever been my custom to make sacrifices and libations to the gods, and now also I have, in your presence, in accordance with the command poured libations and sacrificed and tasted the offerings together with my son Aurelius Dioscorus and my daughter, Aurelia Lais. I therefore request you to certify to my statement."

You will remember the questions that arose with regard to the heathen sacrifices in Corinth in the early days of the Church, with which Saint Paul had to deal; and the same questions are dealt with in the Revelation of Saint John the Divine in the letters to the seven churches. Some said: "After all, the idols are nothing. Why should we not eat meat sacrificed to idols?" These were the "emancipated." They were poor, and it was hard to get meat to eat. Inasmuch as idols were nothing, why not go into the temples and eat the meat? So likewise in the time of persecutions there were plenty of Christians who were ready to say to themselves: "These idols are nothing. Sacrificing to the idol of the Emperor is only an empty form. It does no harm to me and it will save my life. Why should I not do it?" Many of those who sacrificed to the gods, did so, not with an actual intention of apostasy, but excusing themselves by such sophistical reasoning. There were others, and they became quite

numerous, so that a special name, *libellarii*, was created for them, who, while they were not willing to sacrifice to the idol of the emporor, were quite willing to bribe the officials to issue a *libellus* or certificate that they had so sacrificed. Was this *libellus* found at Oxyrhynchus a genuine certificate, and does it mean that the Christian Aurelius who procured it for himself and children really did sacrifice; or did he bribe the superintendent of offerings and sacrifice to give him a certificate that he had sacrificed, when he had not, thus committing one sin in order to avoid committing another, which he regarded as still more heinous? We have no means of knowing.

Another question which exercised the early Church, as you can see from Saint Paul's letters from Rome, the letter to Philemon about his runaway slave Onesimus, and his words about the attitude of believers toward slaves in the Epistle to the Colossians, will show you how vital, and how perplexing a question this slave question was. Not a few of the fragments of papyri found in Egypt have to do with slaves. Here is a document asking for the public auction of a two-thirds right in a male slave. This slave belonged, originally, to a brother and three minor half-brothers. The first owned one-third of the slave and the three younger brothers jointly the other two-thirds. The older brother emancipated his third of the slave. Then the guardian of the three minor brothers asked permission of the court to auction the remaining third. It seems odd to think of a person partly free and partly a slave, but it appears from other documents that this was not

unusual in Egypt. We have a certificate of the emancipation of a third part of a female slave, two-thirds of whom had already been emancipated. Here there is a suggestion of a little romance. The emancipated third had belonged to two brothers, "Achilleus, aged about twenty years, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on the middle of his forehead," and Sarapas, also of "middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on his left. . . ." (By the way, a scar somewhere on the body is the usual mark of identification in these documents, very much as we use finger-prints to-day.) Now these two brothers drew up a deed in the street, under the sanction of Zeus, Earth and Sun, by which in consideration of a certain payment they set free one-third of the slave girl, the other two-thirds having already been set free. The person who paid the money to set free the last third of this slave girl, and here is the possible romance, was a certain Heraclas, son of Tryphon, about thirty-one years old, also of "middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on his right knee." Even the man who certifies the manumission was of "middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar upon one of his shins."

It has often been suggested that Saint Luke, the physician, was a freedman, and hence his great interest in the foreigner, the distressed, and the downtrodden. In slave countries physicians were frequently freedmen, and that was true even in the Turkish empire of the first part of the last century. In Roman times a great many professional men, skilled artisans, and

others were freedmen who had learned their profession as slaves. Here is a document apprenticing a slave boy to learn shorthand writing. Two years it would require to learn this trade or profession, and 120 silver drachmas was the price to be paid for teaching him, 40 drachmas in advance, 40 drachmas when he has mastered the rudiments, forty drachmas when he "writes fluently in every respect and reads faultlessly." This slave is not to work on feast-days. If, at the end of two years he has not learned the art of shorthand and it can be shown that the reason is that he has failed to work on other days besides the feast-days, then he is to continue his study as many days or months after the expiration of the two years as he has failed to work during those two years; very much the way in which we keep boys in after school.

We obtain very intimate glimpses of domestic and family life. Here is a page from a housekeeper's day-book of the time when our Lord was a little boy in Nazareth, which shows, among others, these items:

Turnips for pickling.
Omelets for the bread.
Perfume for the despatch of the mummy of the daughter of Phna.
Wax and stylus for the children.
Pure bread for Prima.
Pure bread for the children.
Beer for the weaver.
Leeks for the weaver's breakfast.
Asparagus for the dinner of Antas when he went to the funeral feast of Athe.
To the slaves for a cabbage for dinner.

Milk for the children.
To Secundus, a cake for the children.
On the birthday of Tryphas, for garlands.
Playthings—for the children.
Pomegranates for the children.
Needle and thread.
A pigeon for the children.
Perfume for the mummy of the daughter of Pasis.

On the whole, this gives a very pretty picture of what appears to have been a pleasant household life. The children play an important part, with their playthings, their school material, their cakes, and other dainties, and their pure bread and pure milk. Then we see the weaver engaged to come in and work for the family, and the extra provision made for his beer and breakfast. Then we have the proper performance of neighborly duties and celebration of family festivals. The perfume for the mummy corresponds, one may say, with the tokens of attention which we give in the shape of flowers at funerals and the like; and gifts of garlands on birthdays need no comment.

Rather amusing is a little fragment of another account-book of about the same date from which we learn what a family had to eat for dinner on three successive days:

For dinner on the 5th, a canopic liver
For dinner on the 6th, 10 oysters, 1 lettuce
For dinner on the 7th, two small loaves, one water bird, two snipe.

We even have an invitation to a party which reads thus: "The Decurion invites you to his party on the

sixth day before the calends, at eight o'clock." Think of a party beginning about two o'clock in the afternoon. The latest hour at which they began at this time was three o'clock.

There are a few letters which reveal with great frankness that disregard of human life, especially the life of women, which was one of the curses and disgraces of the heathen world. The writer, Ilarion, had gone to Alexandria. From there he writes back to a woman whom he calls "sister," the common way of speaking to a wife. With proper parental attention he exhorts her to take care of their children. Then he speaks of another child whose birth is expected: "If it is a male, let it live; if a female, expose it." Such a direction should open the eyes of any thinking person to the wonderful change which Christianity has effected in the condition of women and children.

You will remember that in his parables Jesus speaks of banks in which one might deposit money and receive interest as part of the every-day life of his time. These papyri documents exhibit an amazingly well-developed banking system, letters of credit, exchange, and an organization almost comparable to that of our own day. We have also interesting notices of distribution of seeds and the like for the promotion of agriculture.

The New Testament introduces us frequently to a much-despised class, but one much in evidence everywhere throughout the Roman empire, *viz.*, the Publicans. We meet with hosts of these in our papyri, and especially frequent are they in the papyri from

the villages of the Fayum. The multiplicity of the taxes recorded helps us to understand also why the tax-gatherer was so hated. We have a poll-tax, all sorts of land taxes, and taxes for every conceivable industry. There are receipts for the weaving tax, the mason tax, and the like. In addition to the taxes on land we have a tax on planting, which was levied on trees, and on the area of ground under cultivation, according to the crop cultivated; taxes on oil, beer, and wine; a caravan tax, regulated according to the road to be travelled, the number of kinds of animals to be used and the loads they were to carry. This was especially to equip a constabulary to protect travellers. We have a stamp tax on the sale of objects. Here for instance is a receipt for the tax on the sale of a cow. Here the record of the sale of "a female, mouse-colored donkey, shedding its first teeth" for about nine dollars, in the value of our money before the war. There are taxes for maintaining a watch-tower. Taxes in the shape of a day's work for the maintenance of dikes, and much more. Monopolies also were sold to Publicans who farmed them out. A man named Sanesneus, aged sixty, having a scar on the left knee, who was unable to write, so that he got a certain Castor, scribe of the Nome, to draw up a deed, makes a bid for the concession for one year of the making and selling of buildings in a certain village, with the power to sublet. The Publican Heron, son of Heron, farms out a right which he has acquired in the same way. We have mention of firms of these Publicans, who seem to do a large business, and we have also evidence that they

were not always incorruptible. In one house were found fourteen family letters from a man named Gemellus, who directs, among other things, that presents be given to certain officials, evidently to secure some favor in the matter of remission of taxes. Another man instructs his correspondent to give at once a present to so and so, who has just been elected, "because we can use him." We find some evidences of graft also in connection with the inspection of temple treasuries, which were a part of the state administration. One official writes warning another, who is evidently a friend or dependent, that the inspector is at his place and is shortly coming to the place of this other, but he bids him not to be troubled, for he will fix it.

The first Christian century was a wonderful century, in many ways strikingly like the century just past, a century of enormous scientific progress, a century of great unrest, a century of the highest aspirations and the most spiritual expressions of religion, and at the same time a century of all sorts of fads and superstitions, of belief and unbelief, strangely mingled one with another. Among these papyri are traces, some very pathetic, of these superstitions and this religious unrest, petitions from those seeking guidance or divine favor through oracles, and references to the Evil Eye. One lad, who had been seeking counsel from the gods in dreams, writes to his father: "I have been deceived in the gods, trusting in dreams. All things are false, and your gods with the rest." It was a century of wonderful diffusion of education. Writing was ex-

tremely common. Almost every one seems to have known how to write or read a little. All happenings were jotted down, so that it would seem very likely some began to write the life of Jesus immediately after the Resurrection. On the other hand, almost every one, when he had anything worth while to write, sought the assistance of an amanuensis, and we have particular evidence from these papyri of the precise manner in which Saint Paul, for instance, dictated his letters. Further we have learned the character and the size of the sheets used for writing on, how many went to a roll, etc., so that we are now able to say that in his two books in the New Testament, the Gospel and Acts, Saint Luke reached the limits of possibility; each is as large a volume as one could properly make.

We have one interesting little piece of school work. The Emperor Hadrian in his last days withdrew from public life, and from his retirement he wrote to his successor a godly letter which was circulated throughout the empire as a model of virtue and set as a copy for the boys in school. Among these papyri is preserved a fair text of this letter from the teacher's hand, with a rude copy in the script of a schoolboy learning to write.

But most important for our direct study of the New Testament, although these manifold side-lights are of the greatest importance in restoring the life and thought of that period, are the Gospels and sayings of Jesus, which have been found. The first of these sayings to be published was discovered in 1897 in Oxyrhynchus. There were in that fragment eight

words in all, which, according to Grenfell and Hunt's translation (with a few emendations from Evelyn White's recent work, *The Sayings of Jesus*), read as follows:

1. Then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.[1]

2. Jesus saith: Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the Kingdom of God, and except ye make the Sabbath a real Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.

3. Jesus saith: I stood in the midst of the world and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I find all men drunken and none found I athirst among them, and My soul grieveth over the sons of men because they are blind in their heart and see not (with their understanding).

4. . . . poverty.

5. Jesus saith: Wherever there are two, they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood and there I am.[2]

6. Jesus saith: A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither does the physician work cures upon them that know him.[3]

7. Jesus saith: A city built upon the top of a high hill and established can never fall nor be hid.[4]

8. Jesus saith: Thou hearest with one ear. . . .

A second series, also of eight, was found in the same place six years later. In the following translation and restoration of these I differ somewhat from Grenfell and Hunt, and also from Evelyn White:

[1] So closely resembling Luke 6 : 42, that we might venture to restore the missing first part from that. *Cf.* also Matt. 7 : 5.
[2] Resembling somewhat elusively Matt. 18 : 20.
[3] Much like Luke 4 : 24. *Cf.* also Matt. 13 : 57; Mark 6 : 4.
[4] Resembles Matt. 5 : 14. *Cf.* also Matt. 7 : 24, 25.

1. Jesus saith: Let not him who seeks cease seeking until he find, and when he finds, he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the Kingdom, and having reached the Kingdom he shall find rest.[1]

This saying deals with the attainment of the kingdom as a result of unceasing search. The next saying takes up the question: "Where is the Kingdom?"

2. Jesus saith: Ask now the cattle, and they that draw you shall say to you, "The Kingdom is in Heaven." Ask the fowls of the heaven, and they will say that it is under the earth. Go down into the deep and the fishes of the sea will tell you it is not there. Verily the Kingdom of Heaven is within you, and whosoever knoweth himself shall find it.[2]

That is to say, it is not to be found by observation. The search must be turned within. There, within a man, is the kingdom of heaven to be found.

The third saying deals with a question which grows out of this: "How is a man to know that he has a place in this Kingdom?"

3. Jesus saith: A man finding the way shall not hesitate to make careful inquiry of everything concerning his place (in the Kingdom. Ye shall find) that many first shall be last, and the last first, and (they shall inherit eternal life).

The fourth saying is parallel to Matt. 10:26, Mark 4:22, and Luke 12:2:

4. Jesus saith: Everything that is not before thy face, even that which is hidden from thee, shall be revealed to thee. There

[1] Quoted twice by Clement of Alexandria, once as from the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

[2] Restored by comparison with Job 11:7–9, 12:7–9; Ezra 38:20.

is nothing hidden which shall not be made plain, and buried which shall not be dug up.

The fifth saying is so broken that one cannot present a real translation. The Christians asked Jesus a question with regard to fasting, also praying, the commandments and almsgiving. The answer was presumably similar to the second of the sayings in the first collection. Of the remaining sayings I do not feel able to make an intelligent restoration.

Along with these sayings were found fragments of a papyrus roll of the nature of a Gospel, which Grenfell and Hunt restore as follows:

(Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food, what ye shall eat, or for your raiment, what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack)? Who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto Him: When wilt Thou be manifested to us, and when shall we see Thee? He saith: When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed. . . . He said, The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves and to them that were entering in ye opened not.

The passage is curiously familiar and yet different from anything that we have. It seems to be in fact, a combination of various passages or recollections of passages.[1] It bears a certain resemblance to a form of exhortation which used to be more common than it is at present and which consists in a combination of texts with nothing more added than seems to be necessary

[1] *Cf.* Matt. 6:25, 27, 28, 31, 33; Luke 11:52, 12:22, 23, 25, 27, 29–31; John 14:19, 20.

to unite them or to guide the thought supposed to be expressed by them in the direction the speaker or writer wished.

The study of these fragments gives us an idea of the nature of the collections to which they belong. Their singular combination of new and old, of material with which we are familiar in our canonical Gospels, with slight variations and expansions, and occasional material not from the Gospels at all, but from the Old Testament, or from apocalyptical books. It has been suggested by New Testament scholars as distinguished as Harnack that we have in some of these parts of the Gospel of the Egyptians, of which we read in some of the early fathers. More recently Evelyn White seems to have shown that the sayings are fragments of a collection of life-giving sayings from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, a work quoted by Clement and others. There was discovered in the decade preceding, in a cemetery in upper Egypt, a parchment book containing the Gospel and a revelation of Saint Peter, but those were plainly docetic, writings of that heresy which denied the humanity of Jesus and consequently made the crucifixion and the death a pretense, a heresy which grew out of the excessive contemplation of the divinity of the Lord.

The papyri and potsherds found in Egypt have cooperated with inscriptions found in Asia Minor and elsewhere to determine certain chronological and historical questions, and especially to throw light on various statements in the Gospel according to Saint Luke and the book of the Acts of the Apostles, with regard

to censuses, titles of officials, names of persons holding office at certain places, and the like. There are a number of those in Saint Luke which are not mentioned nor confirmed in historical writings and records of the period, and on that account Luke was until recently charged with fabricating records, and of being no true historian. The discovery of various inscriptions and records by Sir William Ramsay and others, has shown us that in several of these cases Saint Luke had accurate information. This has led to a rehabilitation of Saint Luke as an historian, so that the tendency is in the cases which are not yet confirmed to assume that Saint Luke is accurate. One of the questions under dispute has been Saint Luke's statement of the census enrolment caused to be made in Judea by Augustus. We now know that Augustus did cause such enrolments to be made every fourteen years, and while we have not absolute evidence of the particular census referred to in Luke 2:1, it is generally presumed that Saint Luke was accurate in this also, and it is interesting to find certain of the details of his account of that census supported by the order for a similar census issued by the prefect of Egypt. This document reads: "Gaius Vibius Maximus, Prefect of Egypt, saith: The enrolment by household being at hand, it is necessary to notify all who for any cause soever are outside their homes, to return to their domestic hearths that they may also accomplish the customary dispensation of enrolment and continue steadfastly in the husbandry that belongeth to them."

In another matter Saint Luke has been abundantly

supported by the evidence of the papyri, namely, his statement in the preface to his Gospel that already in his time a great number of writers had written records of the life of Jesus. Presumably the same reference is made by Saint John in the twenty-first chapter, where he says that the whole world could not contain all the sayings of Jesus if every one were written down. It is now clear that almost from the day of Jesus' death he began to be written about, and the number of writings about him at a somewhat later date is attested by John 21 : 25. It is not at all impossible that we have recovered in these papyri some of the actual sayings of our Lord; but comparison of what has been found with what has been handed down in the canonical Gospels will, I think, satisfy the ordinary reader that however interesting papyri sayings and Gospels may be to the curious inquirer, our Gospels have skimmed the cream, and we may be well content that the Church selected for Bible use those four and only those four.

The discoveries in Palestine which I recorded in my last lecture, and the discoveries in Egypt of which I have been speaking to-day, have introduced a new realism into the Gospel story which I felt most keenly on my last visit to the Holy Land. At Capernaum I could picture to myself, from what had been unearthed, the beautiful synagogue of stone brought from a distance, shining white, unlike the black stone of the country, which had been built by the centurion, and of which the people of Capernaum were so proud. I know now where Capernaum really was, where Bethsaida was, where Gennesaret was. I see the scenes as I

Ruins of a white marble synagogue at Capernaum.

Either that built by the Centurion, where Jesus taught, or its successor. Excavated by the Franciscans

read. My mind, when I last visited those places, was no longer full of questionings and doubts, as formerly. I could give myself wholly to treading in the footsteps of Jesus.

The Gospel of Saint Mark is the one most vivid with the life of that country. He who will read Saint Mark, following his narrative up and down in Peter's country, will, if he is of a sympathetic nature, find himself walking with Jesus. I think I should call that Gospel the "Impressions of Saint Peter." He narrated them in the churches in Aramaic, and Mark, a better scholar, recorded them in Greek. Now there is a part of Saint Mark's Gospel, 6 : 45–8 : 26, which Saint Luke did not use. Apparently he did not have it. Saint Matthew used it. As I walked up and down that country without any prejudgments, in fact without any ideas on the matter, I came to realize that those chapters could not have been in the "Impressions of Saint Peter." They are physically impossible. They twist up the line of the narrative. You cannot follow from place to place aright, and finally they end where they began. Further you will observe that they contain duplicates, as of walking on the water, and the feeding of the multitude. Apparently, later some other impressions of Saint Peter from another of his hearers were inserted in Saint Mark's original writing. They seemed too precious to lose. They were inserted just after the feeding in Bethsaida, because they also end with a scene in Bethsaida. Matthew, writing later than Luke, in Syria or Palestine, had a text with these additional recollections inserted, valuable in them-

selves, but which interfere with the line of the narrative.

There is one parable in Saint Matthew which always used to bother me. It seemed to me contrary to possibilities, and I thought Saint Matthew must have reported it wrongly. It is the parable of the vineyard leased by the absent owner to husbandmen, who ultimately seize the vineyard for themselves, refusing to pay rent, treating with violence the owner's agents, and finally killing his son (21 : 33–42). North of the present walls of Jerusalem, not far from the Tomb of the Judges, are remains of some stone buildings which I found myself unable to account for. They were not houses nor tombs, and they were unlike the usual vineyard towers. At last a Jerusalem friend threw light on their origin and purpose, and incidentally also on the parable. In the troubled days of the middle of the last century the gardens and vineyards hereabouts became unsafe. The Jerusalem owners did not dare to summer there because of the brigands. So they hired men to live there permanently, to protect them, that they might be able at least to have the fruits of their gardens, if they might not live there. But the tenants had to live in houses that were forts, and the garden walls became fortifications. Then the tenants, recognizing the strength of their position, joined together and refused to give the owners of the gardens their portion of the produce, and scenes were enacted much like those described in our parable. And to-day the somewhat doubtful title to these lands goes back to those squatting holders. The setting of our Lord's

House of the wicked husbandmen.

A small ruin outside the north wall of Jerusalem, whose occupants in the last century played the part of the wicked husbandmen in Jesus' parable, Matt. 21.

parable was historical and notorious facts somewhere about Jerusalem in his day of the same character as those in this region three-quarters of a century since; and those old towers became vivid illustrations of this parable recorded by Saint Matthew.

On my last visit it was a perfect delight to go over certain places in Jerusalem, especially to tread the stair street of the Assumptionists, probably the very steps which Jesus trod, and to see how all fits in with the scene of the Gospel narrative. Saint Matthew tells us that Jesus told Peter and John to go to the fountain of Siloam and find a certain man whom he describes merely as *so and so.* His servant would be there to draw water and they were to follow him up that stair street to the top of the hill where was the house of this unnamed friend, with whom Jesus had arranged to eat a sort of pro-passover supper. You see from this story in the Synoptic Gospels, how Jesus really was at home in Jerusalem, how he must have been there earlier in his ministry, as Saint John tells us in his Gospel that he was, otherwise he would have had no such Jerusalem friends. Saint Mark omitted all that early Jerusalem ministry. Peter had not been with Jesus on those early visits to Jerusalem. Peter's impressions were only concerned with Galilee. And Matthew and Luke, following Mark, omitted it also. You do, however, find glimpses of that earlier Jerusalem ministry of Jesus in Saint Luke, chiefly contained in the somewhat inchoate mass of material peculiar to the third Gospel which Saint Luke lumps together after his account of the Galilean ministry and before

his story of the last Passover and the Passion. Such a glimpse we have in the story of the Good Samaritan, which could only have been told at Jerusalem. Living and wandering in Jerusalem such little touches came home to me.

I spoke in my last lecture of the gambling board of the Prætorium. That brought before my mind most vividly the character of those soldiers to whom Jesus was turned over by Pilate, for it is the little things like that which make things live before you.

I have spoken already of the Place of the Skull and of the Tomb. Let me in conclusion tell something which came to me on my last visit, which I think you will find very real, and which has never before been noticed or published to the best of my knowledge. The eye-witness touches here and there in Saint John's Gospel have been noticed by many, and especially they have been gathered and effectively set forth by Doctor Sanday. Against my former prejudgment I have been compelled, especially by my last journey to the Holy Land, to realize from this eye-witness testimony, as it were, that Saint John's Gospel was really written by an eye-witness, the beloved Apostle. I felt that sense of the eye-witness narrative keenly in the story of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, more keenly still at Jerusalem, and the new point to which I wish to call your attention is from Jerusalem. You will remember that at the close of the fourteenth chapter, in that upper room in the house at the top of and beyond that stair street of which I have spoken, Jesus, having finished his discourse to his apostles, says:

"Arise, let us go hence." The latest commentary which I have consulted says that "He evidently did not go out, because the discourse continued without interruption."

The following, fifteenth chapter begins: "I am the Vine, ye are the branches." Now it has been borne home to me from many things that Jesus' parables are alive with their surroundings. I spoke a moment ago of the parable of the Good Samaritan. Take Saint Luke's account in the fourteenth chapter of his Gospel of the dinner-party to which Jesus was invited on the Sabbath, at which he told the story of the man that made a great supper and invited many. You can follow the acts of the guests and their conversation in that chapter from Jesus' sayings, each one of which, including the final parable, is based on the acts of the host or his guests, or drawn out by their utterances. Apply this principle to the occurrences and utterances of that last evening as recorded by Saint John.

It is almost a mile's walk from the house of the Last Supper—down the stair street, past the fountain of Siloam, out of the water gate, turning to the left up the valley of the Kidron, past the priestly tombs, under the great mass of the temple—to the Garden of Gethsemane. They walked between gardens, where just at that time, according to custom, the vines were being trimmed, the cuttings from which had been thrown into the street to wither. You have in the account of Jesus' discourse on the way one of those unconscious eye-witness pictures of the surroundings;

how, as they walked down that street, they trod on these withering vine branches, and saw the vine stocks from which they had been cut. It was this which suggested and from which Jesus took the striking and vivid figures for the parable of the vine.

And farther; as they passed up the Kidron valley, and stood beneath that great mass of the temple, just before they entered the Garden of Gethsemane, "lifting up his eyes," as it says at the beginning of the seventeenth chapter, Jesus uttered what every commentator has called the "High Priest Prayer," the prayer which imagines him standing as priest on the great day of atonement before the Lord in the inmost sanctuary. Who could have invented this; who but an eye-witness have reported it?

I speak as an archæologist, to whom these objective things appeal with telling force because of my practical experience. Years ago, when I was excavating Nippur, book scholars had fixed the date of the introduction of the camel, from the mention of that animal found in various writings, at about the close of the third pre-Christian millennium. I found inscribed stones at Nippur, Ur, and elsewhere which I could not transport on horses, donkeys, or mules. My men pointed out that those were cut for camel burdens. They did not need to be told; they needed no proof of written records; they knew from their experience in loading beasts that we had in each of those stones exactly a half load of a camel, and that a camel and only a camel could carry those loads. On the basis of that I stated with confidence, as an axiom, that the camel was known

as a beast of burden at the time those stones were cut and the inscriptions put on their faces, some hundreds of years before the date theretofore ascribed to the camel. I say with equal confidence in regard to that parable of the vine and the "High Priest Prayer," that the witness which they bear is clear and incontrovertible, of the passage of Jesus with his disciples down that stair street between the villas and the gardens, up that valley, he talking to them as they walked, until at last they entered the garden of Gethsemane where he was to be betrayed to death for our sins. And, it seems to me clear that he who tells the story was present on that night.

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